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A CONFERENCE WAS HELD ON AUGUST 3-5, 1964 TO BRING TOGETHER SCHOLARS IN DIALECTOLOGY AND RELATED FIELDS. THE ENTIRE CONFERENCE WAS TAPE RECORDED AND A TYPESCRIPT MADE. THE CONTENTS OF THE REPORT ENCOMPASS BOTH THE PANEL PAPERS PRESENTED AND DISCUSSIONS ON (1) SOCIAL DIALECTOLOGY, (2) FIELD PROJECTS, (3) SCHOOL AND COLLEGE TEACHING PROGRAMS, (4) SOCIAL FACTORS IN LEARNING STANDARD ENGLISH, (5) REACTIONS OF RELATED BEHAVIOR SCIENCES, (6) IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH, AND (7) SUMMARY OF THE CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS. (MB)

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SOCIAL DIALECTS AND LANGUAGE LEARNING

Proceedings of the Bloomington, Indiana, Conference
1964

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FOREWORD

The English language problems of the culturally underprivileged are extremely complex. Linguists, psychologists, sociologists, and educators are all concerned with finding adequate solutions. Yet there has been little opportunity for a working group representing these disciplines to discuss the relationship of research to the needs of the schools.

This invitational conference at Bloomington, limited to twenty-five participants, was an attempt to initiate such a dialogue.* It was extremely gratifying to the organizers of the conference that so many outstanding scholars and educators could contribute to its success. The agenda of the conference included formal papers and panel presentations, followed by general discussion. The editor has found it necessary to condense the general discussion. It is hoped that the condensations reflect the more pertinent remarks of the participants. Because of recording difficulties the report given by Dr. Samuel Shepard, Jr., Assistant Superintendent of the St. Louis Public Schools, could not be included. We would like to express to him both our regrets and our thanks for his description of the Mr. Achiever program conducted in St. Louis.

One of the major objectives of the conference was to develop some means for facilitating a continuing exchange of information. The members of the conference decided that a national committee for this purpose should be established under the sponsorship of the NCTE and the Center for Applied Linguistics. The first meeting of the committee was held at the CAL headquarters in Washington, D. C., on February 27, 1965. Members of the committee are Harold B. Allen, University of Minnesota; A. L. Davis, Illinois Institute of Technology, chairman; W. Nelson Francis, Brown University; Robert Hogan, NCTE; Albert H. Marckwardt, Princeton University; Raven I. McDavid, Jr., University of Chicago; and William A. Stewart, CAL, secretary.

Although some parts of this report are quite technical, the authors have made them remarkably free of abstruse terminology. This seems particularly fitting for a conference on the improvement of communication skills. I would like to thank them as well as Roger W. Shuy, who edited this report.

A. L. DAVIS

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*The conference was cosponsored by the National Council of Teachers of English and the Center for American English of the Illinois Institute of Technology. Financial support was provided by the Cooperative Research Branch of the U.S. Office of Education (F059). The sponsors wish to express their appreciation to Indiana University for making its facilities available.

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I.

Social Dialectology

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SOCIAL DIALECTS: CAUSE OR SYMPTOM OF SOCIAL MALADJUSTMENT

RAVEN I. McDAVID, JR.

I am going to be somewhat anecdotal, but I think this treatment will lead into some of the complications that we encounter in working on social dialects, and perhaps the anecdotes will help us to realize how intricately these problems are interrelated with research, with one's own personal weltanschauung, and with one's pedagogical career and interests. Here we might make a minimal statement of the commitment of the English teaching profession as a commitment to see that in a democratic society, every citizen should have a command of the standard idiom sufficient to enable him to fulfill his intellectual potentialities, whatever kind of job, career, or ambitions he may have. Now if this sounds like one of the early phrases in Milton's "Of Education," this similarity is deliberate, since it comes from a retired Miltonist.

Let's first review the research of the last generation. It's thirty-three years since the New England field work for the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada was begun. We have in this atlas the first attempt in linguistic geography to take into account the problems of social differences and the dimension of time. Those of us who have been working with the Linguistic Atlas have no illusions about having definitive answers, and no illusions that the findings of the thirties and forties are applicable to other situations that have kept on arising. In fact, from the very beginning Hans Kurath, director of the Atlas, has insisted that we needed many larger scale studies on particular problems. We simply could not cover more in the first investigation which had, as its major purpose, establishing the baselines and the general direction of apparent change in the speech of the United States.

The first suggestion, that perhaps we ought to say something to the social scientists, came from Gordon Blackwell, then chairman of sociology at North Carolina, now president of Furman University. One day when we were talking about the atlas materials, he said that we ought to have some comments in *Social Forces* so that we could at least start arguing intelligently. This conversation led to my article in the December 1946 *Social Forces*, which pointed out the direction my concern with social dialects has since taken. The intricate problem of the status indicators in South Carolina was then discussed in *American Speech*, 1948. Later came a note, based on the situation in Buffalo and elsewhere, which got into *Studies in Linguistics*.[1] In 1951, my wife and I did a paper for the American Dialect Society and the Speech Association of America at the request of Allen Walker Read on the relation of the speech of American Negroes to the speech of whites.[2] Lorenzo Turner's 20 years of investigation of Gullah along the Carolina-Georgia coast was one of the major items that we had to take into account in this paper and that everyone who starts from some of the more marginal social dialects in the United States will have to take into consideration. For a number of years since then I have been involved in working through the materials put together first by the late H. L. Mencken, and part of the problem of updating and reorganizing these statements entailed recapitulating what had been said about problems in social dialects.

I grew up in a South Carolina community where we said there were three races: whites, Negroes, and cottonmill workers. Anyone who knows the situation in southern textiles knows exactly what I am talking about. Here we had white and black separated by caste lines. We also had an industrial system of the closed mill village, the closed employment situation with the company store selling, on credit, everything from contraceptives to coffins, and we had separate, segregated schools for the cotton mills. In this community we could see a number of social differences in dialects. We learned, very easily, that certain vowels were identified with the poor whites, the hillbillies, and their derivatives, the cottonmill workers. We knew that there was a rural white speech—not hillbilly—which nice but unassuming people used. We knew that, in the city, not only were there differences in white speech and Negro speech; we even learned that many of the more intelligent Negroes were bidialectal. That is, when they were speaking to the upper classes they would use one mode and when they were speaking back in the kitchen or to the yard man, they would use another. This intuitive perception is the kind of thing that one might expect from little boys playing around in grandmothers' houses and hearing things that maybe they weren't supposed to hear; they would conclude intuitively that people learn to differentiate their mode of communication according to the situation in which they were communicating and according to the people to whom they were attempting to communicate.

In the course of my pedagogical career, I was translated to Charleston across a major bundle of isoglosses and observed there another kind of dialect situation where, in many phonological matters, the urban Negro and the urban white, upper-upper, were very much alike. The city also had the strivers and strainers, in between, who were not accepted by either of these groups and were called by various inelegant terms which you will find if you study southern regional literature. On the streets, one could hear some of the varieties of Gullah from the flower sellers and seafood peddlers who would come into town. Going out in the country to fish, we often had trouble finding our way because we didn't know the language in which to ask directions properly or to ascertain what the directions were when we got them.

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[1] Raven I. McDavid, Jr., "Dialect Geography and Social Science Problems," *Social Forces*, 25 (Dec. 1946), 165-72; "Postvocalic /-r/ in South Carolina: A Social Analysis," *American Speech*, 23 (Oct.-Dec. 1948), 194-203; "Dialect Differences and Inter-Group Tensions," *Studies in Linguistics*, 9 (Apr. 1951), 27-33.

[2] Raven I. McDavid, Jr., and Virginia Glenn McDavid, "The Relationship of the Speech of American Negroes to the Speech of Whites," *American Speech*, 26 (Feb. 1951), 3-17.

Later, I spent two years in Louisiana, in the center of the Cajun country. There were many local people who effectively commanded various kinds of Standard English. Unlike the situation in South Carolina, there were few poor whites who were native speakers of nonstandard varieties of English. In their place were the rural Cajuns—French-speaking poor whites. According to Wallace Lambert of McGill,[3] these people are doubly unfortunate—almost completely deculturized, illiterate in all languages; they have been made to feel that French is inferior, but have not been given a fair opportunity to learn anything approximating Standard English.

Somewhat later, after three years with the Armed Forces Language Program and two decades with the Linguistic Atlas, I found myself increasingly involved in the problems of teaching in metropolitan areas.

In the fall of 1959, preparations for the Darwin Centennial drew me into a profitable association with the Chicago Department of Anthropology. One of the first fruits of that association was an invitation to participate in a seminar in "caste and class," along with McKim Marriott and Julian Pitt-Rivers. As a scion of an old family of British landed gentry, Pitt-Rivers could evaluate the American scene objectively and dispassionately; it was illuminating for us when he remarked that, in the allegedly open society, social competition becomes keener and the unstructured markers of class increasingly important. He pointed out that the new "open society" has actually created a pattern of social segregation in the new one class neighborhoods, and particularly the one class suburbs like Levittown and Park Forest: as people move up economically they want to move away from those that they feel are economic and social threats, and toward those with whom they feel entitled to associate because of their new affluence. The flight from the central city to the suburbs is not solely white backlash, but a reflection of the fact that people in a democratic society have to keep running on the treadmill if they want to keep their place, and if they stop, they fall off and are considered failures. From these observations have come the motives for such research as the sociologically oriented dissertations of Lee Pederson[4] and

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[3] Professor Lambert is the author of numerous studies on bilingualism, second-language learning, and related topics.

[4] Lee Pederson, *The Pronunciation of English in Chicago: Consonants and Vowels*, University of Chicago dissertation, 1964.

Gerald Udell,[5] and the proposed dissertations of Thomas Creswell, John Dawkins, and Vernon Larsen at the University of Chicago.

So much for the theoretical background of our Chicago research. As we would like to think, these theories have been influenced by practical teaching problems in particular situations, beginning with my first teaching in South Carolina. The first striking situation where it was clear to me that work in social dialects was a necessity for the school system was that in southern Louisiana. Since the democratic philosophy of the state school system sought to avoid saddling students with the stigma of failure, no matter how submarginal their accomplishments, many freshmen who entered the state college with diplomas and four units of English could literally not read, write, speak, or understand English. In orthography, in grammar and pronunciation, there was a sharp divergence between the language practices of these people and of those of the dominant English-speaking culture. Moreover, it was apparent that the Negro speakers of French in southern Louisiana were more removed from standard southern Louisiana English than were the white Cajun French, because Louisiana rigidly maintained the southern tradition of separate and unequal accommodations in education and other social amenities. Clearly, in southern Louisiana, it would have been desirable to begin, at an early age, the teaching of English as a foreign language. It is ironic that these people do not appear in the census roles as speakers of foreign languages; the 1960 census indicates only the native tongue of the foreign born; presumably, everyone growing up in this country is a native speaker of English.

After World War II and several years of field work, I went to Western Reserve, in Cleveland, Ohio, a quality university with periodic illusions of football grandeur. Harrison Dillard, the great Negro hurdler, was a former student under our coach, Eddie Finnegan. As a consequence, Western Reserve attracted many Negro athletes, especially from Warren, Ohio. Warren, a town of about fifty thousand, is not large enough for educational segregation to have any particular impact on the quality of English teaching in high schools. Yet the Negro graduates from Warren High, who usually did well on the College Boards, showed in their compositions all of the grammatical features we associate with uneducated Negro speech, especially the nomadic appearance of the inflectional endings of verbs and nouns. One concluded that though the schools were not segregated, other social contacts were, since these grammatical forms could not have survived if whites and Negroes lived side by side and played together as equals.

In 1956-57 my wife taught in the Cleveland extension program of Kent State University, aimed at producing cadet teachers for the Cleveland public schools. In the program on the east side of Cleveland, the overwhelming majority of the students were Negroes. They were, as a rule, highly motivated and highly intelligent, but most of them had come with the nonstandard grammar one associates with Mississippi, Alabama, etc. There were large numbers of Negroes from these states. Many of these students had to take noncredit English before they could get into freshman work. The grammatical problems were especially acute with the noncredit students, just as they have been in my wife's remedial and freshman English courses at Chicago Teachers College, South. One day she came home and said, "All week I have been trying to teach Standard English as a foreign language." This was probably the first suggestion I had that the techniques of second language teaching might be adapted to this problem. At the same time I discovered, through evening classes for inservice teachers, that the classroom teachers in Chicago are aware that the grammar of the slum Negro is a major problem. However, most teachers do not know what to do with this problem, and when they start to talk about the grammatical characteristics that distinguish Negro and white speech, professional racemen may say, "Don't mention this; this is discrimination." But among scholars concerned with the fate of our country, mentioning these features is not discrimination; we must talk about things that occur, for failure to mention them and to seek a cure will help perpetuate discrimination. Thus theoretical concern, social observation, and practical experience lie behind Pederson's dissertation and the growing cooperation with public and private groups interested in removing the educational, economic, and social handicaps of the underprivileged urban Negro. We conclude that we must remove their linguistic handicaps if our educational system is to survive. The grammatical problems are of such an order that we advance the suggestion—which Mencken had reported before the war and which my wife independently derived from her teaching experience—that in our urban slums and other areas where divergent social dialects exist, we might teach Standard English as a foreign language.

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[5] Gerald Udell, *The Speech of Akron, Ohio: A Study in Urbanization*, University of Chicago dissertation, 1965.

One other problem is involved here; to convey to the dominant culture a better understanding of what Standard English actually is. We must keep reminding our neighbors that Standard American English has many varieties, all good. We must remind them not to confuse what is regionally and what is socially different. And we must also realize—and make others realize—that a person's dialect is one of his most intimate possessions. We may want to give a person other modes of his language to communicate with in other situations, but we don't want to make him too self-conscious about the fact that he and his family and friends naturally use a nonstandard dialect. After all, it may sometimes be to one's advantage to be able to switch back into the childhood mode, as it was to the advantage of Eugene Talmadge, a plantation owner, to be able to talk Georgia Redneck when he was on the state hustings, and it was to the advantage of Huey Long, a Louisiana Redneck, to learn Standard English so that he could communicate on the national hustings.

DISCUSSION

A. L. Davis, Illinois Institute of Technology
Lee Pederson, University of Minnesota
Juanita Williamson, LeMoyne College
William A. Stewart, Center for Applied Linguistics
William Labov, Columbia University
Harry Levin, Cornell University
San-su Lin, Southern University
Roger W. Shuy, Michigan State University
Einar Haugen, Harvard University

There were five areas of discussion of McDavid's paper. It was determined, first of all, that the most vital areas of needed research are the urban centers. McDavid pointed out that in Chicago, for example, there is a significant difference between local standard, derived basically from western New England and Pennsylvania, and the nonstandard dialect of the black ghetto, which is derived from the South Midland and South. From this he concluded that research in the cities must be accompanied by research in the feeder areas. In Chicago, for example, it would be good to have the knowledge of the speech of Memphis, Birmingham, and various cities in Mississippi, Arkansas, and Tennessee.

The second area of discussion dealt with the adequacy of the *Linguistic Atlas* approach in accomplishing these ends. It was agreed that most field work is never extensive enough, but that some aspects of language study have been neglected more than others. Paralanguage and the language of Negroes constitute two such aspects.

The third category of the discussion of this paper focused on pedagogical implications. Participants from the schools were concerned about how much they should change a student's pronunciation. McDavid observed that differences in the phonemic systems are rarely socially important and that the answer to this question will be specific to a locality. Labov pointed out that teachers often need help in such matters, even if they are native speakers of the area, because they are under the effects of certain folk mythology which prevents them from focusing on the important items. He cited, as an example, a New York furniture worker who remembered that his teacher had taught him to pronounce a *t* in *butter* and a *wh* in *which* while apparently ignoring the socially significant features such as his *d* and *t* substitutes in *dis ting* for *this thing*. Labov further observed that in a normal city situation, people shift their dialect naturally when they progress from grammar school to high school to college. Their language reflects their progress. But where there is rapid social change, this normal functioning is upset and suddenly language change becomes a complex social problem.

The fourth focus of this discussion concerned the problem of whether we should try to eliminate a substandard dialect or to teach the student a standard dialect which he can use in addition to his original dialect as the social situation might dictate. Along with this is the problem which develops when we make students so aware of their speech that they overcompensate and create the aura of speech snobbery.

The fifth aspect of the discussion of McDavid's paper dealt with terminology. Haugen, who was particularly concerned with this problem, objected to references to "Teaching Standard English as a Second Language" and pointed out that the phenomenon which we are discussing is bidialectalism, not bilingualism. He observed: "The whole problem of switching back and forth from one dialect to another is clearly different from that of switching from one foreign language to another. Usually, when we switch from one foreign language to another, there is a clear break between the two, but when we switch from one dialect to another, it is often hard to identify where the switch occurs. So it might be better instead of speaking of teaching English as a foreign language, to simply say that we are teaching them Standard English by foreign language methods and to recognize that foreign language methods can be adapted to the teaching of a second dialect and to encourage the change from passive to active knowledge, that is, from reception to production. This is the real problem involved. Beyond this, we have no business interfering with their identity or with their relationship to their own community unless they deliberately want to leave that community. There is plenty of difference in the attitude of people who wish to leave it and people who don't wish to leave it."

URBAN NEGRO SPEECH: SOCIOLINGUISTIC FACTORS AFFECTING ENGLISH TEACHING

WILLIAM A. STEWART

One of the more general refinements in English teaching methods which has now become well established—largely due to the impact of modern linguistic theory—is the distinction made between the teaching of English as a native language and the teaching of English as a foreign language. Both kinds of English teaching share the same goal: to impart to the learner skill in the use of Standard English. Yet, very different teaching techniques are called for in the two cases, because of the fact that they involve fundamentally dissimilar relationships between the learner and the language being taught. In the first case, the learner is already supposed to have a command of the basic patterns of Standard English. For him, English teaching primarily involves adding to these basic patterns such socially desirable embellishments as additional vocabulary, stylistic refinements, and the ability to read and write the language. In the second case, it is assumed that the learner starts out as a total stranger to the language being taught. Where this is so, English teaching must start with the most basic elements of the language and then build upon these. In contrast to the case of the native speaker, the basic linguistic patterns which the foreign language speaker already knows are more likely to be a hindrance in the acquisition of Standard English than a help.[1]

Although this two-way distinction between native and foreign language teaching has become established in language teaching theory both here and abroad, there is growing evidence that there are certain kinds of teaching and learning situations which do not fall neatly into either category. Such situations include the teaching of Standard English to persons for whom it is in some ways quite similar to, but in other ways very different from, a linguistic system which they already know. Persons who are confronted with an English learning problem of this type are to be found in the classrooms of many parts of the world; they include not only speakers of English-based pidgin and creole languages, but also speakers of certain radically nonstandard dialects of English. In pointing out the existence of this kind of language learning problem to English teaching specialists, I once referred to it as a "quasi-foreign language" situation. What I meant by this was that, although the structural correspondences between the language of the learner and the language being taught might, at some linguistic levels (such as their respective vocabularies), be so close that the learner could justifiably be considered as already having a native or near-native command of that aspect of the language being taught, yet, there would still be enough differences between the two linguistic systems at other levels (such as in their grammars) to warrant the use of at least some foreign-language teaching procedures.[2]

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[1] Much of the specialized character of the teaching of English (or any other language) as a foreign language must, of necessity, lie in the techniques which are used to overcome the negative influence (*interference*, in linguistic terminology) of the habits of the learner's native language in his use of the new language. Perhaps the most linguistically sophisticated method yet developed for this purpose is the so-called "contrastive" approach. It involves, as a prerequisite to actual language teaching, the analysis and plotting out of the linguistic structures of both the native language of the learner and the foreign language to be learned. After this is done, the resultant points of divergence between the two linguistic systems can be taken as indications of where the learner is most likely to experience difficulty in assimilating the patterns of the new language.

From a pedagogical point of view, one of the things which makes the quasi-foreign language situation potentially a far more problematic one than the clear-cut foreign language situation is the fact that the former is seldom recognized for what it is by the persons directly concerned. In a foreign language relationship, both the teacher and the learners are generally aware of the existence of traditional grammars, dictionaries, and other accepted codifications of the structure of each language (although these may really be nothing more than definitions of "correct" usage). Thus they are disposed to regard both as constituting legitimate and autonomous linguistic systems, each with its own independent structure and "logic." In the quasi-foreign language situation, on the other hand, the linguistic system of the learners usually occupies a socially inferior position to the language being taught. Furthermore, while there are traditional grammars and dictionaries in abundance for, say, Standard English, these do not exist for the English-based pidgins, creoles, or nonstandard dialects. Thus there is an understandable tendency for both teacher and student to consider such situations as involving only one language (and therefore only one grammar), and to regard those cases in which the learner's natural speech differs from Standard English as departures from systematic behavior, rather than as behavior in conformity with a different linguistic system. Moreover, the near identity of the two linguistic systems at certain structural levels may deceive the learner into thinking that the two are more generally alike than they really are, with the result that he may be unwary of the likelihood of interference at other structural levels.[3]

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[2] See "Foreign Language Teaching Methods in Quasi-Foreign Language Situations" in William A. Stewart (ed.), *Non-Standard Speech and the Teaching of English* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1964). It is not my intention to propose a third category of language teaching, but rather to show that two established categories represent end points on a continuum rather than neat divisions. Indeed, the teaching of Standard English to native speakers of the following dialects and languages would fill in this continuum rather neatly: the dialect of a middle class native of Detroit; the dialect of a lower class native of Nashville; the dialect of a lower class white of the South Atlantic coast; the dialect of a lower class Negro of the South Atlantic coast; Gullah; Jamaican Creole; Sierra Leone Krio; Sranan; Saramakan; Cape Verde Crioulo; Standard Portuguese. This series of dialects and languages has been arranged in such a way that the number of (standard) English-based or English-like structures decreases in each case, with Standard English becoming progressively more foreign to their monolingual speakers.

Here in the United States, there are a number of English teaching situations which appear to involve a quasi-foreign language relationship between a standard variety of English and some English-based pidgin or creole or nonstandard, natively spoken dialect of English.[4] It is primarily in the densely populated and more fluid and competitive social environment of the larger cities, however, that the resultant problems are likely to have the most serious consequences for the nation as a whole. Of the various urban dialect problems, I doubt if any is more widespread or has been more resistant to self-correction than that involving the nonstandard speech which is characteristic of many urban Negro communities.[5]

Most varieties of nonstandard, urban Negro speech would seem to derive from rural southern dialects which, because of migration patterns within the nation, have been brought into many metropolitan areas of the North and the West Coast. Although such dialects may have been generally accepted as natural or appropriate in their native region, they often turn out to be quite deviant in the Northern urban dialect context, while the fact that they have been brought in primarily by Negroes usually results in their being regarded as ethnic dialect, regardless of whether or not they had that status in their Southland home. This racial association of dialect traits combines with the usual linguistic problems characteristic of quasi-foreign language relationships to produce what is undoubtedly one of the trickiest English teaching problems that urban public school systems may ever have to confront. Yet, in spite of the problems they pose, and in spite of the fact that in some cases they appear to have been around for quite a while, amazingly little attention has been paid to urban Negro dialects.[6]

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[3] Indeed, the nonstandard speaker who does not realize that in pedagogical jargon "English" usually means "Standard English," and who does not appreciate the structural differences between his dialect and the standard one, may be quite offended by the knowledge that English is being taught him with the help of so-called foreign language methods.

[4] One such pidgin language is Hawaiian Pidgin English, while Gullah (now spoken mostly on the islands off the South Carolina coast) is an English-based creole language. By a "natively spoken dialect," I simply mean one which is firmly established enough to have native speakers in some quantity. This definitionally excludes "foreign-accent" dialects which are due to foreign language interference in the English of a non-native speaker. Not necessarily excluded, however, are dialects of English which may have some historical foreign language influence, but which are one of the native languages of bilinguals (or, indeed, the only language of some individuals who live in close contact with bilinguals). Examples of this kind of dialect are Mexican-American English, Pennsylvania-German English, and Cajun English.

[5] Of course, not all members of an urban Negro community are speakers of a nonstandard dialect, although my own observations seem to indicate that nonstandard speakers are far more numerous—at least in the big cities. However since Negroes who do speak nonstandard varieties of English are the ones who would seem to experience the greatest difficulty in learning Standard English usage, it is with them that I will be primarily concerned in this paper.

There are probably a number of reasons for this neglect, and as a first step it might be useful to review some of these. First, there has been the general attitude, common even among some linguists, that nonstandard speech is less worthy of interest and study than varieties of speech with high prestige and social acceptability. As this relates to the speech of Negroes, it has been reinforced by a commendable desire to emphasize the potential of the Negro to be identical to white Americans, and accordingly to deemphasize any current behavioral patterns which might not seem to contribute directly to that goal. Where attention has been paid to nonstandard Negro speech, much of it has unfortunately been in the form of amateurish and often racistic speculation by early "authorities," and this has undoubtedly discouraged many reputable linguists from specializing in the area.[7] Lastly, respect for the feelings of Negroes themselves has probably played a part in discouraging the study of Negro speech. For, as is quite understandable, many Negroes (particularly educated ones) are somewhat sensitive about any public focus on distinctively Negro behavior, particularly if it happens to be that of lower class Negroes. In some cases, this attitude may stem from a belief that such studies, where unmatched by comparable ones of the behavior of educated Negroes, might well encourage old stereotypes about the American Negro by giving an incomplete picture of the cultural range which he represents. In other cases, the same attitude may betray a feeling of insecurity in individuals who themselves have made an incomplete transition from a lower class, nonstandard speech background, and who may accordingly feel threatened by any evidence of the proximity of behavior which they have worked very hard to leave behind.

Although we can understand the reasons for all of these views, and even sympathize with some of them, I feel that none is either legitimate enough or important enough to be allowed to discourage research on Negro speech any longer. For I am convinced that the effectiveness of English teaching in the context of nonstandard urban Negro dialects will ultimately depend upon the results of competent research into their linguistic characteristics and their sociological function. In the remainder of this paper, I will try to illustrate why this is so with a description of some of the characteristics of the linguistic situation in Washington, D. C., as I have observed it.

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[6] For example, it would seem from a linguistic reading-between-the-lines of the social situation described by the study of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922), that significant dialect differences between the Negro and white populations of Chicago were probably in existence half a century or more ago. Yet it has only been within the past few years, and largely through the work of Raven I. McDavid, Jr., that educators have come to realize the social and pedagogical implications of the dialect cleavage in that city.

[7] An example of what is probably typical of this kind of amateurism at its worst is the contention that a Negro dialect came into existence because the Negroes took English and "wrapped their clumsy tongues about it as well as they could, and . . . it issued through their flat noses and thick lips . . . ." (Ambrose E. Gonzales, *The Black Border*, Columbia, S. C., 1922, p. 10).

Washington, the District of Columbia and the nation's capital, is a predominantly Negro city and has been so officially since the Eighteenth Decennial Census listed, out of a total population of 763,956 persons, 411,737 Negroes, 345,263 whites, and 6,956 other non-whites. The numerical superiority of Negroes over whites in the District has come about, not only through a steady increase in the Negro population over the years, but also because of a heavy exodus of whites from Washington to the surrounding suburban areas. Thus, although the District's Negro population increased by 130,934 between 1950 and 1960, the white population actually decreased by 172,602 during the same period.[8] Most of these outgoing whites have consisted of members of families with children, so that the increase of Negro over white has been even greater for school-age children in Washington. Thus, according to a recent report on enrollment in the District's public day schools, the Negro pupils number 119,200, or over 85 percent of a 139,156 total.[9] Although most of the present growth of the Negro population of the District is due to internal expansion, in-migration from the South Atlantic states was until recently the major reason. At the same time, the outgoing white population is at least partially replenished by new office workers and professional types who come from various parts of the country, but particularly from the North, Midwest, and West Coast. This means that a large number of the city's residents are either not native Washingtonians, or are of parents who are not native Washingtonians.

The effect of all this in-migration from distant parts on the dialect profile of Washington has been profound. For one thing, it seems to have totally distorted the original dialect pattern—whatever it might have been. The influx of educated, middle class office and professional personnel, as well as nationwide radio and television programing, have brought into the District of Columbia prestige dialects of Standard English which are much more Northern than what must have been the older, Piedmont variety of standard dialect. At the same time, the in-migration of large numbers of uneducated, lower class Negroes from the South has swamped the traditional Washington Negro speech patterns (which were probably fairly similar to those of the older standard dialect) with South Atlantic Negro dialect traits, many of them much more deviant from Standard English than anything native to the Piedmont region. Subsequent reorganization of these dialect features (such as the dropping of some and the fusion of others with older Washington features), plus a certain amount of dialectal innovation, has contributed to the development of a new dialect configuration—one which sets the Washington-born Negro off linguistically from the in-migrant, or "Bama."[10]

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[8] See the U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960*. Vol. I, "Characteristics of the Population." Part 10, "District of Columbia" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), p. 11.

[9] Public Schools of the District of Columbia, *Pupil Membership in Regular Day Schools on October 17, 1963, compared with October 18, 1962, by Schools, School Levels and Race* (Washington, D.C.: District of Columbia Board of Education, 1963), p. 2.

As a result of so much dialect mixing, the amount of structural difference which exists between the most "correct" and the most "incorrect" variety of Washington Negro speech is considerable. At one extreme, there is a dialect which is structurally quite close to the General American dialect of many educated whites, although it often has a slight Negro "flavor" to it.[11] It is essentially this kind of speech which is generally considered the "best" in the Washington Negro community, and it seems to be the model aimed at in formal education. In discussing some of the sociolinguistic factors which seem to be important for English teaching in Washington, I will refer to this topmost dialect in the local sociolinguistic hierarchy as *acrolect* (from *acro-* "apex" plus *-lect* as in *dialect*). In most cases, what is meant by "Standard" English is either acrolect or something close to it. At the other extreme is a kind of speech which I refer to hereafter as *basilect* (from *basi-* "bottom").[12] There are, of course, differences between acrolect and basilect in virtually all areas of their linguistic structures, but it is particularly because of their striking grammatical differences that the two almost cease to be mutually intelligible. For example, in contrast to acrolect (and even to some other nonstandard dialects), basilect does not normally inflect the verb in any way to show the difference between the simple present and the preterite, e.g., *I see it*, which can mean either "I see it" or "I saw it."[13] On the other hand, basilect has, in addition to a simple perfect construction, e.g., *I seen it* "I have seen it," a completive perfect which has no equivalent in acrolect, e.g., *I been seen it* (with primary stress on *been*) "I have seen it [already some time ago]."

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[10] This locally popular designation for a lower class southern Negro is said to be derived from *Alabama*, although most of the persons to whom it is now applied are from Georgia, the Carolinas, or even Virginia. Many of the cues which Washingtonians use to differentiate between their own and in-migrant speech appear to be phonological. For example, the Southern [ɔŭ] (for General American [ɔ]) is found in the speech of many Negro Washingtonians, but in certain words only. Thus *dog* is usually [dɔŭg], but *walk* is [wɔk] and *cough* may be [koə̆f]. Persons who use [ɔŭ] in words of the latter types are liable to be accused of "talking like a Bama."

[11] This "flavor" appears to be due primarily to such paralinguistic features as voice quality, syllable dynamics, and special stylistic uses of pitch. For some individuals, this Negro flavor may be strengthened by the deliberate use of ethnic slang, and by occasional switching into dialect behavior of a less general type.

[12] These designations allow the use of the established terms *acropetal* and *basipetal* for switching or shifting in the direction of the acrolect and basilect respectively.

[13] That the simple present and the preterite both exist as grammatical categories in basilect, however, is clear from the fact that the two are negated differently: *I don't see it* "I don't see it," but *I ain't see it* "I didn't see it." Furthermore, a few basilect speakers do inflect the un-negated simple present with *-s*, e.g., *I sees it* "I see it" beside *I see it* "I saw it."

In between basilect and acrolect, there are a number of other dialect strata, and it is in this middle range that the dialect behavior of the majority of adult Washington Negroes probably belongs. Within this range, even dialect behavior which is relatively high up in the sociolinguistic hierarchy is apt to show fairly strong Southern influence (such as in vowel usage and the absence of constricted postvocalic /r/), and forms which are at variance with standard usage are frequent, e.g., /ditn/ and /šutn/ instead of /didnt/ and /šudnt/ (*didn't* and *shouldn't*). Somewhat lower down in the dialect hierarchy, the patterns often resemble the popular stereotypes of uneducated speech, e.g., *I ain't got none*. Furthermore, the Washington dialect situation is characterized by a great deal of acropetal and basipetal switching which, if viewed apart from its particular sociolinguistic context, may give the impression of an unstructured and highly erratic kind of English usage.

One of the most interesting aspects of linguistic behavior in the Washington Negro community is the way in which dialect differences may correlate with certain kinds of informal social structures. Of course, correlations of this type are by no means unique to Negro communities, but in the case of Washington, some of these phenomena are not only interesting from a theoretical point of view, but they also have a direct effect on the nature of Standard English teaching and learning in the schools. Of these, perhaps the most pedagogically interesting case in point is the relationship which apparently exists between dialect behavior and informal age-grading among many lower class Negro boys in Washington.

It does not take much careful observation of the dialect distribution in the city before it becomes evident that the consistent use of basilect patterns, even in predominantly lower class neighborhoods, is largely restricted to young children. This is so much the case, in fact, that adults in such neighborhoods often assume that basilect is simply the natural way for younger children to speak.[14]

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[14] The fact that I treat basilect as a full-fledged dialect in this discussion does not mean that I have overlooked the possibility that this popular view might be right, i.e., that basilect might represent nothing more than the structural distortion of adult dialect as a process of early language learning behavior. However, I feel that this is not the case for the following reasons: (a) The use of basilect is by no means universal among Washington Negro children, but where it occurs it is characterized by a great deal of structural uniformity. Yet, if some kind of underlying language-learning behavior were responsible for this uniformity, one would have to explain why so many other children never behave in this manner. (b) The fact that many children use basilect when no one else in the family does can still be explained socially—by peer-group interaction. (c) The use of basilect usually extends well beyond what seems to be the usual years for learning to talk. In fact, basilect becomes consistent only after these years, which suggests that there are language-learning stages for basilect, just as for any other kind of dialect. (d) Mature basilect is structurally quite complex, and indeed bears a strong resemblance to some of the more nonstandard dialects of regions which have contributed to the Washington Negro population in the past. It seems to me that Washington basilect

At about the age of seven or eight, however, noticeable dialect shifting begins to take place. This includes, for example, the acquisition of certain new grammatical morphemes (such as /-t, -it/ to mark the preterite of many verbs, e.g., /kliynt/ "cleaned," /rentit/ "rented," /wetit/ "wet") as well as the moving around of others to new functions, e.g., the use of the participial verb form of basilect as a preterite form for some verbs—possible once a new perfect construction with *have* has been acquired: *He done it* "He did it" beside *He have done it* "He has done it." The ultimate effect of this process of linguistic change is that the speaker moves out of "pure" basilect and into a dialect level which is higher up in the hierarchy (although the result may still be quite distant from acrolect, and the speaker may continue to engage in a great deal of basipetal switching).

Now, what is especially interesting about this kind of dialect shifting from the sociological and pedagogical point of view is that it appears to take place quite automatically, and in fact seems fairly independent of formal education, although the change may be accelerated and linguistically affected by it. It is worth noting, however, that the change coincides rather neatly with a transition which is normally made at about the same age from "small-boy" to "big-boy" in the informal social structure of the local peer group. Since "big-boys" seem to regard basilect as "small-boy talk" (just as adults do), the continued use of pure basilect probably becomes undesirable for a boy who aspires to status in the older age group.[15] Even when "pure" basilect is abandoned, however, the result shift may involve more of a change in overt morphological appearance than in basic grammatical patterns. Thus, structural interference from underlying basilect patterns may continue to be a major problem in the learning of Standard English by many individuals who are no longer superficially identifiable as basilect users.

In an earlier paper, I gave a number of linguistic illustrations of why I believe that interference problems of this type would be dealt with most satisfactorily by the use of certain foreign-language teaching methods—particularly those based upon contrastive studies.[16] I stress the matter of contrastive studies because although statements are beginning to come from all quarters that English should be taught to nonstandard speakers as a foreign language, all too frequently the

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represents a case where, under pressure from an encroaching linguistic system of higher prestige, one linguistic system has been replaced as a usual means of communication for the community as a whole, and has been preserved primarily by children who have not yet been acculturated to the more prestigious dialect. Actually, this process is far from unusual; it has been happening to many of the traditional British dialects, and it seems to be the fate in store for Gullah, Jamaican Creole, and French Creole in Martinique.

[15] This kind of rapid dialect shift seems much less usual among lower class girls, and I suspect that this is related to the fact that age-grading is much less rigid among them than among boys. In the case of those girls, dialect change seems to be much more a direct result of formal education.

[16] William A. Stewart, *op. cit.* Some of these illustrations were also taken from the Washington situation.

persons who make them show no real appreciation of the factual knowledge which is necessary before such foreign-language teaching methods can be put into operation. Thus, although such statements may indicate that the nature of the problem is finally becoming understood, they are far from being evidence that the English teaching profession is technically prepared to actually carry out effective programs of remedial English for dialect speakers.

It seems to me that an absolutely necessary prerequisite to English teaching in such situations is the linguistic analysis and description of the nonstandard dialect. Here, the English teaching specialist should not assume that contrastive studies are rendered unnecessary by apparently extensive structural overlap between most nonstandard dialects and Standard English. For, although it is clear that even a dialect like Washington basilect shares much more in common with Standard English than do, say, French or German, it is important to realize that if the nonstandard speaker isn't sure where his dialect agrees with the standard dialect and where it doesn't, then whatever structural agreement there is will be of little use to him. How, for example, is he to know *a priori* that his simple present *I don't like it* is acceptable as "correct" English, while his preterite *I ain't like it* is not? Unless they are put within a general framework of systemic comparison, corrections by the teacher of isolated bits of linguistic behavior are liable to be regarded by the nonstandard speaker as capricious or arbitrary. At best, he may interpret this as evidence of hostility on the part of the teacher. At worst, he may become uncertain about his language, and serious manifestations of disfluency (such as stammering or unwillingness to speak) may result.

Some knowledge about the linguistic structure of the nonstandard dialect would be useful for the individual teacher, too, not only to guide him or her in the organization of classroom materials, but also as a help in the evaluation of results. Once, while observing a reading class in operation in the District, I noticed one of the pupils read *he brother* for *his brother*. The teacher seemed to consider this a reading mistake (i.e., a failure to perceive grapheme-phoneme-meaning correspondences). However, I strongly suspect that it was essentially a case of grammatical interference, since the basilect equivalent of "his brother" is, in fact, *he brother*. Ironically, this would indicate more success than failure on the teacher's part, the child having understood the meaning of the printed material so well that he began to supply his own linguistic expression for the situation described.

Finally, I feel that knowledge about the social context of dialect behavior is also potentially useful in English teaching, although this is an area which has hardly been explored at all. For example, it would be interesting to see if the energies expended by the basilect speaker on the kind of dialect change described earlier, as well as his frame of mind towards language differences at that period, could be harnessed by formal education in, say, an intensified English teaching program for nonstandard speaking pupils at the 7-8-9 year old level.

DISCUSSION

A. L. Davis, Illinois Institute of Technology
Beryl Bailey, Hunter College
Albert H. Marckwardt, Princeton University
John Gumperz, University of California
Lee Pederson, University of Minnesota
William Labov, Columbia University
Donald R. Tuttle, USOE
Raven I. McDavid, Jr., University of Chicago
Ruth Golden, Detroit Public Schools

Upon request, Stewart outlined in more detail the structure of the Negro social groups in Washington, D. C. It was suggested that future research should focus in detail on the social and linguistic changes that occur when Negroes and whites move within the same area. Gumperz suggested that such speech study should be accompanied by detailed study of family structure, family role systems, and friendship circles.

There was some discussion about whether sociological research should precede linguistic investigation. Labov stressed the need for cooperative research. He pointed out that his own detailed work built upon the previous investigations of the Linguistic Atlas. He added, ". . . on the one hand we have to build on each other's work in dialectology. We also should try to contact people who are in the planning stage of community studies."

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II.

Reports on Field Projects

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REPORT ON A PROPOSED STUDY OF THE SPEECH OF NEGRO HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN MEMPHIS

JUANITA WILLIAMSON

We have begun in Memphis a study of the speech of the students in those high schools whose student body is presently totally Negro. The study has grown from the concern of some of the teachers of English in those schools and of LeMoyne College, whose student body comes chiefly from those schools.

The faculty of LeMoyne College has always been concerned about the speech of the students entering the college. We know too well that however much a student may know, any advancement he might make as race barriers are removed will be limited if he cannot speak, and of course write, Standard English. And although those of us who teach at LeMoyne have devised various means of attacking the problem, we have always known that we could not be completely successful. The attack on the problem must begin before the student reaches the college level.

Many of the high school teachers in the Memphis area have also been concerned. Many have tried in their classes to do something about their students' speech. But this did not solve the overall problem.

There have been generally good relations between the college and the high schools of the Memphis area, but somehow we could not seem to find a way to work together on this mutual problem. When high school and college personnel did discuss the problem, the high school teachers seemed more interested in method than in a genuine examination of facts concerning Memphis Negro speech. And very often a defeatist attitude was taken—they said that there is really nothing they could do about it; it has always been this way and probably will remain this way. They felt, at any rate, that the responsibility was not theirs but was that of the elementary schools.

In recent years, however, there has been a change in attitude. There is the general feeling that something can and must be done at the high school level, although it is still understood that much should be done in the elementary grades.

In the spring of 1962 several of the high school teachers wanted to attend one of the institutes sponsored by the CEEB's Commission on English. But none of the institutes were held in the central section of the deep South and none at a predominantly Negro college. Since these teachers lived outside of the areas from which the participating colleges selected teachers to attend the institutes, they were not accepted when they applied to the nearest participating colleges.

One of these teachers came to us and asked whether we could set up an institute or workshop during our regular summer session that would be somewhat comparable to those sponsored by the Commission on English. We had heard the report on the proposed institutes given at the MLA meeting and had written the Commission for more information. We had had several discussions on ways and means of having an institute, but we had no funds and we were not sure that if we did have an institute, the teachers would attend. Summers are very hot in Memphis.

We agreed to hold a three-week workshop, assured that there was an interest on the part of many teachers. The college administration granted us twenty scholarships. I served as coordinator of the program and two other members of the English department volunteered their services.

The workshop followed, in general, the structure of the institutes sponsored by the Commission on English; the material covered was, of course, more limited because the workshop period was shorter.

We found many of the participants eager to continue their study beyond the workshop, and we were asked to continue the work during the regular school year. I was on leave of absence during the next year, and nothing was done. When I returned in September 1963, we were again asked to continue the work. We offered a course which twenty teachers took. It was from this course that our present study grew.

During the first part of the course, dealing with the structure of English, the teachers gained some knowledge of phonetics and phonemics. They began to see how this knowledge could help them with specific problems. For example, many of their students pronounced *ask* as /æks/. About all the teacher had been able to do was to tell them to say *ask*, not *axe*, "which is what we chop with." The student, not knowing how to correct himself, continued to say *axe*. The teachers now saw that the consonants in *axe* are reversed in *ask*. We worked out a method of showing the student this, and all agreed to try it. They were very pleased with the results.

They worked in a similar manner with other specific problems, such as the pronunciation of the plural forms *tests, wasps,* and the past tense forms *grounded, contradicted.*

The teachers saw, before the first semester ended, that something could be done to help their students. But they had to do more than deal with isolated words. There was a need to evolve some basic plan of work.

After some study and discussion they found that they could not make adequate plans until they could better describe the speech problems of their students. They saw that we would have to study the speech of the students before attacking their problems. I was asked to begin such a study and the teachers agreed to help in any ways they could. The Board of Education gave us permission to conduct the study.

And thus our study began. We had no funds to conduct the study, and we still do not, but the work needed to be done.

We began our preliminary work by having our senior English majors, who were then about to begin their practice teaching in the high schools, observe and record the speech of the students in the classes to which they were assigned. Since our practice teachers observe for several weeks before they actually begin teaching, they had an opportunity to observe and record a great deal. All of them were enrolled in a course which I teach, An Introduction to the English Language, a year course, which, among other things, deals with the phonology, morphology, and syntax of English. Most of them, therefore, were able to make a fairly accurate record of their observations.

We already knew a great deal about the speech patterns of the Negro in Memphis. I had earlier done a phonological and morphological study of the speech of the Negro of Memphis, and we could, therefore, describe fairly accurately the standard and substandard dialects of the area. We also knew that there is no appreciable difference in the phonemic systems of the Negro and white speakers of the area and that Negroes on a comparable educational level with the white speakers use the same morphological and syntactic patterns as the white speakers.

I expected that these preliminary studies would show that the verb structure is the most noticeable feature of the substandard dialect used by many of the students, that there would be certain noticeable features of pronunciation such as the loss of the final consonant in the final consonant clusters of words, that /d/ would often replace /ð/ in *this, that*.

A study of the reports made by the practice teachers revealed that these features were present. Nothing startlingly new was found. My earlier observations were merely confirmed.

A great many of the high school students often left the *s* off the third person singular verb, but put it on the form used with the first and second person, singular and plural. Here are examples from the records:

I walks
I goes
he do, he take, teacher tell
does we have, we is
you eats
they eats, they cries

The past participle form was used as a past tense form:

I drunk, she taken, he seen

Done was used as the auxiliary with the past participle:

I done done it
I done gone

Have frequently replaced *has*:

he have done it

Often *-ed* was added to a strong verb to form the past tense:
I drinked
Mary throwed
Be was used as a finite verb:
I be
he be
they be
The verb *to be* was omitted in some sentences:
Where it at?
Where you going?

The materials showed that often the plural *s* form was added to forms which were already plural:
mens
childrens

The most noticeable feature in their pronunciation was the loss of final consonant in consonant clusters:
dentist /dɛntis/ or /dintis/
greatest /grɛtis/
test /tɛs/
wasp /wɔs/

The loss of final or preconsonantal /r/ was expected, for this is one of the features of the speech of the Memphis area. In standard speech, this /r/ is replaced by /ə/. In substandard speech, however, it is not. There are many instances of this in the speech of the students:
door /doə/ /do/
four /foə/ /fo/
The materials also showed that medial /r/ is sometimes lost:
carried /kæd/
tomorrow /təma/
This loss is not found in standard speech.
Other pronunciations which occurred fairly frequently are the following:
seven /sɛbəm/ [sɛbm̩]
help /hɛp/
asks /æks/ or /æskɪz/

Although the practice teachers pointed out that many of their students did not enunciate their words clearly, their reports did not show what proportion of the students used the preceding forms. When questioned further, the practice teachers did state that they believed that a large percentage of the students use these substandard features.

In September we expect to begin our work in three of the high schools where the student body is totally Negro. We hope to make tape recordings in the regular classes. Student volunteers from the college will do this; in some cases the classroom teacher will aid in the research. We do not know yet how many classes we will use, for this will depend upon the volunteer help we can get. I shall spend several hours in each classroom where I shall record phonetically what I hear while, at the same time, I shall tape record each session in order to double check my impressionistic transcription.

Where it is feasible we shall interview and record the speech of a number of students outside the classroom situation.

We hope that we can determine what percentage of the students in a class use substandard forms and what these forms are. For the sake of comparison we shall also record the speech of the students in classes for the academically talented. These students may be expected to use Standard English, and a comparison should be of some value.

Working with the teachers who are aiding in the study, I shall examine the tapes and the phonetic transcriptions. We shall attempt to describe what we find there. We should then be able to state with accuracy what the features of the speech of the high school students are.

We can then, we hope, begin to work on material that will help us to help the student to speak and possibly to write–Standard English.

DISCUSSION

Beryl Bailey, Hunter College
Raven I. McDavid, Jr., University of Chicago
William A. Stewart, Center for Applied Linguistics
Thomas Creswell, Chicago Teachers College, South
Muriel Crosby, Wilmington, Delaware, Public Schools
William Labov, Columbia University
W. Nelson Francis, Brown University

The discussion of Williamson's paper centered on the word *systematization*. Some participants felt that Williamson should work out the systematic behavior which the data represent before she goes much further in her research. The question of exactly what constitutes *system* was discussed at length. Francis concluded with a plea for dialect studies in depth of the whole syntactic systems, the whole verb systems, the whole noun system, among others, in order to compare these systems with those of another dialect. He felt that what might appear to be unsystematic might really be dialect mixture with rapid dialect switching involved.

SOME STRUCTURAL DIFFERENCES IN THE SPEECH OF CHICAGO NEGROES

LEE A. PEDERSON

This is a progress report on a particular phase of the current investigation of speech habits among culturally deprived Chicagoans. In describing some structural differences in the speech of indigenous and in-migrant Negroes, this summary is a development of the preliminary research done in early 1963.[1] The current survey makes use of a more detailed questionnaire, takes into consideration a wider range of sociolinguistic factors, and includes a more extensive analysis than did the preliminary work of 1963. More important, this summary relies upon information collected for a recently completed survey, *The Pronunciation of English in Metropolitan Chicago: Vowels and Consonants* (1964), particularly with regard to the phonemic system. The most important sources for the current project are the standard works of American linguistic geographers, the extensive research of urban sociologists,[2] and the splendid efforts of Chicago social workers.[3] This report summarizes (1) the fieldwork done during the spring and summer of 1964, (2) a nontechnical sociolinguistic classification of informants, and (3) the distribution of selected phonological, morphological, and lexical features.

1. *The Fieldwork: Questionnaire, Interviews, and Fieldworkers.* The questionnaire used in this survey was compiled by the project coordinators—Raven I. McDavid, Jr., Alva Lee Davis, and William M. Austin. McDavid and Davis are the adapters of the Atlas short worksheets for the North Central states; Mr. and Mrs. McDavid have made a compilation of all U. S. Atlas worksheets, and Austin has done pioneer work in the area of paraphonology.

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[1] Some of the goals and preliminary findings of the Chicago Cognitive Environment Study are summarized in "Nonstandard Negro Speech in Chicago," *Nonstandard Speech and the Teaching of English* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1964), pp. 16-23.

[2] E.g., Wirth's *The Ghetto*, Drake and Cayton's *Black Metropolis*, and Frazier's *Black Bourgeoisie*.

[3] This report is especially indebted to the help of Mrs. Gertrud Porteus, a leader of the Woodlawn Project at the Episcopal Christ Church, Mrs. Wilhelmina Blanks, a supervisor at the Cook County Department of Public Aid, Mrs. Olivia W. Filerman, former director of research for the Chicago Urban League, Father John Cermak, parish priest at Our Lady of Lourdes, and Mr. John Hobgood, New Residents Representative for the City of Chicago's Commission on Human Relations.

Including numbers, days of the week, months of the year, verb forms, and regionally and socially significant lexical items, most of the entries in the questionnaire are taken from the worksheets of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada. Most of these are household words which combine to establish a rather full phonological inventory. When combined with para- and suprasegmental phonology, the grammatical and lexical variants lead to the complicated problems of grammar, usage, style, and para-language.

The interviews were conducted in the homes of the informants in order to put them more nearly at their ease and to give the fieldworker a better opportunity to evaluate their socioeconomic status. All interviews were recorded on tape, and no full phonetic transcriptions were made in the homes. This unfortunate dependence upon the machine precluded a rigorously accurate analysis of the phonology, e.g., labial fricatives were not always distinugishable from tip dentals.

Fourteen of the thirty Negro records were collected by John Willis, a graduate student in anthropology at the University of Chicago. Willis, a Negro, did a good job in gaining the confidence of the informants and in stimulating the free conversation which, perhaps, is the most valuable data collected. His lack of experience in the field led him to the occasional mistake of neglecting an item because it was difficult to elicit.

The remaining sixteen records were collected by this writer. These interviews include a more nearly complete coverage of questionnaire items, but the free conversation in these records is usually distinctly inferior in richness of forms to those collected by Willis. Another questionable procedure in this writer's interviewing was the attempt to elicit responses in tightly controlled frames. For example, in trying to elicit the preterit of *swim*, instead of asking what a person did in the water yesterday, a typical frame was "Today he swims in the lake; yesterday he ———." The only lexical variant gathered with this sterile technique was *didn't*.

2. *The Informants: A Nontechnical Sociolinguistic Classification*. The original plan included the selection of twenty Negro informants, ten residents of the city for twenty or more years and ten recent arrivals. These informants were to represent the middle and lower socioeconomic classes. When the fieldwork was completed, thirty informants had been interviewed, ten of whom were recent arrivals.

Table 1: Informants. The problem of classifying informants must be met in order to indicate sociological distribution. Unsatisfactory classification of informants is one of the serious defects of social dialectology in this decade. The precedent set in the New England Atlas—a distinction of three basic types with two subclasses (old-fashioned and modern)—was satisfactory in the regional surveys of the 30's and 40's, but the sociological implications of Mrs. Yakira

TABLE I: TABLE OF INFORMANTS

20-Year Residents of Chicago: Group I

No.	S[1]	A[2]	N[3]	E[4]	Place of Birth	Mother's POB	Father's POB	Occupation	Y[5]	Type[6]
1.	M	39	69	BS	Lawrenceville, Virginia	Virginia	Virginia	Social Worker	20	A17
2.	M	31	68	BS	Chicago, Illinois	Arkansas (rural)	Louisiana (rural)	Social Worker	31	B30
3.	M	57	40	JD	Humboldt, Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee	Lawyer	21	C32
4.	F	31	42	BA	Omaha, Nebraska	Alabama	Alabama	Restaurant Manager	28	C33
5.	F	67	68	13	Little Rock, Arkansas	Unknown	Unknown	Minister	35	C33
6.	M	57	38	12	Harrisburg, Illinois	Illinois (rural)	Illinois (rural)	Electrician	40	D39
7.	M	60	39	10	Chicago, Illinois	Louisiana	Tennessee	Clerk	60	D41
8.	F	30	30	10	Chicago, Illinois	Louisiana	Kentucky	Clerk	30	D44
9.	M	55	67	12	Sherman, Texas	Oklahoma	Texas	Cook	28	D44
10.	M	31	44	12	Chicago, Illinois	Mississippi	Mississippi	Janitor	22	D44
11.	F	46	69	10	Charleston, Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee	Housewife	25	E47
12.	F	42	42	9	Chicago, Illinois	Louisiana	Louisiana	Housewife	42	E47
13.	F	42	68	10	Chicago, Illinois	Jamaica	Jamaica	Housewife	37	E49
14.	M	67	42	8	Atlanta, Georgia	Georgia	Georgia	Porter	44	F53
15.	F	27	42	10	Mississippi	Mississippi	Mississippi	Housewife	21	F54
16.	F	46	67	8	Marvell, Arkansas	Unknown	Unknown	Housewife	20	F54
17.	F	50	67	7	Marvell, Arkansas	Unknown	Unknown	Housewife	24	F55
18.	M	56	54	4	Memphis, Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee	Laborer	20	F56
19.	M	40	....	6	Tuscaloosa, Alabama	Alabama	Alabama	Laborer	23	F60
20.	M	47	39	9	Baton Rouge, Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana	Watchman	25	G81

Recent Arrivals: Group II

No.	S[1]	A[2]	N[3]	E[4]	Place of Birth	Mother's POB	Father's POB	Occupation	Y[5]	Type[6]
1.	F	45	73	BA	Jacksonville, Florida	Florida	Florida	Housewife	12	A21
2.	F	43	49	BA	Los Angeles, California	Dallas, Texas	Pittsburgh, Pa.	Housewife	11	B25
3.	M	32	35	BS	West, Mississippi	Mississippi	Mississippi	Social Worker	2	C35
4.	M	45	42	11	Memphis, Tennessee	Mississippi	Mississippi	Janitor	17	E52
5.	F	42	29	12	Marigold, Mississippi	Mississippi	Mississippi	Clerk	1	F56
6.	F	35	...	9	Hattiesburg, Mississippi	Mississippi	Mississippi	Housewife	1	F57
7.	F	35	42	10	Montgomery, Alabama	Alabama	Alabama	Housewife	4	F58
8.	F	36	42	10	Lexington, Mississippi	Mississippi	Mississippi	Waitress	8	F59
9.	F	45	40	5	LaGrange, Georgia	Georgia	Georgia	Housewife	7	C65
10.	F	27	42	7	Macon, Mississippi	Mississippi	Mississippi	Housewife	7	C65

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[1] Sex
[2] Age
[3] Neighborhood Community
[4] Education
[5] Years in Chicago
[6] Sociolinguistic Type

Frank's analysis of Guy Lowman's field records in New York (1949) and David DeCamp's study of San Francisco speech (1955) suggest the need for further classification.

A readily available scale for this kind of investigation appears in W. Lloyd Warner's *Social Class in America*, and this was used to classify informants in *The Pronunciation of English in Metropolitan Chicago*. Warner's scale was used in that survey as a complement to a primary classification according to educational types. This was simply an analysis of the tripartite division of the New England Atlas into ten groups in order to distinguish the extent of academic inoculation, a problem growing up with mass college education since World War II.

These scales of ranking were unsatisfactory for social dialectology for obvious reasons: the New England Atlas did not undertake an analysis of social class and Warner did not include linguistic problems in his analysis. A nontechnical scale is used here—nontechnical because it has not yet been tested and the weights are arbitrary, but it can be called a scale because the informants are arranged according to the available personal data.

The seven categories include those factors available in the personal data sheets: (1) place of birth and years in Chicago, (2) education, (3) occupation, (4) parents' place of birth, (5) parents' education, (6) parents' occupation, (7) neighborhood and housing. For example, two of these categories are thus weighted:

	1			2
1.	Chicago born		1.	Graduate of Integrated College
2.	North-East-Western born	(20 yrs)	2.	Student at Integrated College
3.	″ ″ ″ ″	(10 yrs)	3.	Graduate of Segregated College
4.	″ ″ ″ ″	(less)	4.	Student at Segregated College
5.	Midland born	(20 yrs)	5.	Graduate of Integrated HS
6.	″ ″	(10 yrs)	6.	Student at Integrated HS
7.	″ ″	(less)	7.	Graduate of Segregated HS
8.	Southern born	(20 yrs)	8.	Student at Segregated HS
9.	″ ″	(10 yrs)	9.	Elementary School Graduate
10.	″ ″	(less)	10.	Elementary School Student

Following this scale, Informant #I-1 has a total of 17 points; POB (5 of 10); Ed (3 of 10); O (1 of 10); PPOB (4 of 5); PEd (1 of 10); PO (1 of 10); H (1 of 10). Informant I-3, conversely, having attended the John Marshall Law School, has a better educational rank and as many years in Chicago, but, because his parents were not educated in integrated colleges and were not professionals and because he practices law, almost *exclusively, within the* Negro community, his total was 35.

The A to G classifications are established from these totals:

A	7 to 23	Highest sociolinguistic group
B	24 to 30	High sociolinguistic group
C	31 to 37	High-Mid sociolinguistic group
D	39 to 46	Mid sociolinguistic group
E	47 to 52	Low-Mid sociolinguistic group
F	53 to 60	Low sociolinguistic group
G	61 to 65	Lowest sociolinguistic group

This classification, then, provides a method for arranging the data in the present report and suggests the criteria to be included later in a statistically valid classification.

3. ***Distribution.*** The phonological and morphological features considered here include those which, in previous investigation in Chicago, showed a clear pattern of distribution on the basis of race, education, age, or socioeconomic type and those which are regionally or socially distributed in the North, Midlands, and South. Neither syntactic structures nor suprasegmental phonemic patterns are included here because the most interesting evidence is in the free conversation, and those sections of the tape have not yet been thoroughly examined.

In Tables 2-10, the symbols *x* and *X* are used to indicate forms of the dominant Chicago dialect, i.e., of native Caucasians, ages thirty-five to fifty-five, of the middle socioeconomic classes; the symbols *o*, *o*, Ø are used to indicate forms which are not typical in the speech of that Caucasian group. Distribution based separately on age, region, or sex is not always given here because these factors too often overlap with criteria used to establish sociolinguistic types. For example, nine of ten recent arrivals are between ages twenty-seven and forty-five, six of these are of Mississippi ancestry, and eight of these ten are female.

Table 2: Tautosyllabic /r/ after Stressed Vowels. Three variants of the /ə/+/r̩/ phonemes are distinguished here. These are (1) the constricted allophones [ɚ, ɝ], (2) the weakly constricted allophones [ə, ɜ], and (3) the unconstricted allophones [ə̥, ə̥]. A necessary distinction omitted from the table, and the preliminary analysis, is the loss of the nonsyllabic /ə̥/ after low-back vowels /ɔ, ɒ/ in *four* and *fourth*.

Table 2 shows a distinction between rounded and unrounded vowels because rounding versus unrounding seems to affect distribution. A much higher incidence of the unconstricted allophone occurs before rounded stressed vowels in the speech of members of all regional, social, and age groups. Among members of Group I, Types A-C, only two informants (I-3 and I-5) have a high incidence (i.e., more than half the occurrences) of the weak or unconstricted phone before unrounded vowels. Both informants are over age fifty-five and neither is closely associated with the Caucasian community. The single exception among Group II, Types A-C, is a young social worker who has been in Chicago only two years. All members of Type D have lived in Chicago twenty years or more and none of these has a high frequency of this recessive feature. Twelve of seventeen typed E-G, however, favor the recessive feature; these include seven of ten members of Group II. From Group I, all three exceptions are within six sociolinguistic points of Type D (I-11, I-13, I-14); from Group II, both exceptions are within nine points of Type D (II-4, II-5).

Before rounded vowels, the recessive feature has a high frequency occurrence in the speech of five members of Group I (I-2, I-3, I-5, I-7, and I-10). Eight of ten members of Group II favor the recessive feature. The exceptions again are the highly ranked II-2 and II-4.

TABLE 2: TAUTOSYLLABIC /r/ AFTER STRESSED VOWELS

x is [ɚ, ɝ]
ϕ is [ə̦, ɜ̦]
o is [ə, ɜ]
– is *no response*

Unrounded Vowels

A. *beard* /ɪ~i/
B. *careless* /ɛ~æ/
C. *chair* /ɛ~æ/
D. *thirteen* /ɜ/
E. *furniture* /ɜ/
F. *Birmingham* /ɜ/

Rounded Vowels

G. *four* /o~ɔ/
H. *fourth* /o~ɔ/
J. *morning* (in *good morning*) /o~ɔ/
K. *mourning* /o~ɔ/
L. *horse* /o~ɔ/
M. *hoarse* /o~ɔ/

No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.	L.	M.
1.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	ϕ	x	x
2.	x	x	ϕ	x	x	ϕ	o	o	ϕ	o	o	o
3.	ϕ	ϕ	o	ϕ	o	o	o	o	o	–	ϕ	o
4.	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	x
5.	o	o	ϕ	x	ϕ	–	ϕ	o	x	o	x	o
6.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x
7.	x	o	x	x	o	x	x	o	o	o	o	o
8.	x	x	x	x	o	ϕ	x	x	x	o	x	x
9.	x	ϕ	x	x	ϕ	x	x	o	x	x	x	o
10.	x	x	x	x	x	ϕ	o	o	o	o	o	o
11.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x
12.	x	ϕ	ϕ	–	ϕ	ϕ	ϕ	o	ϕ	o	o	o
13.	x	x	x	o	x	x	o	o	ϕ	x	o	x
14.	x	x	o	x	x	x	ϕ	ϕ	o	o	x	ϕ
15.	x	o	o	ϕ	o	ϕ	ϕ	ϕ	o	o	–	ϕ
16.	o	x	x	ϕ	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	ϕ
17.	x	o	o	ϕ	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o
18.	x	o	ϕ	ϕ	ϕ	ϕ	o	o	o	o	ϕ	o
19.	x	o	x	–	o	x	–	–	o	–	o	ϕ
20.	x	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	o	–	o	o
1.	ϕ	ϕ	x	–	x	x	o	o	o	x	o	o
2.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x
3.	ϕ	ϕ	x	ϕ	x	o	o	o	o	o	ϕ	o
4.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	–	x	x
5.	x	o	x	ϕ	x	x	o	o	o	o	o	o
6.	ϕ	ϕ	o	x	ϕ	x	o	o	o	o	ϕ	ϕ
7.	ϕ	o	ϕ	x	ϕ	x	o	o	o	o	o	o
8.	o	o	o	o	ϕ	o	o	ϕ	o	o	o	x
9.	o	o	o	ϕ	o	o	o	ϕ	x	o	o	o
10.	o	–	o	o	–	ϕ	o	o	o	–	o	o

Table 3: Initial Member of the /ai/ Diphthong. Seventeen allophones occur as initial members of the upgliding diphthong. These are distinguished by position (front to mid), by duration (unlengthened to extremely lengthened), and nasalization (strong nasalization versus weak or no nasalization). These allophones are classified in Table 3 only on the basis of position, i.e., the low-mid vowels typical of Chicago Caucasian speech, the fronted low-mid vowels or retracted low front vowels, and the low front vowels.

Both fronted variants, marked *o* and *ø* in the Table, occur most frequently among lower ranked types (E-G). Of the twenty informants ranked E-G, only two have a preponderance of the low-mid vowel; both of these speakers, I-13 and I-15, received their full formal education in Chicago. Distribution by type is as follows:

Type			
A	17 of 21	4 of 21	0 of 21
B	13 of 20	7 of 20	0 of 20
C	23 of 40	15 of 40	2 of 40
D	21 of 51	25 of 51	5 of 51
E	14 of 41	24 of 41	3 of 41
F	11 of 97	52 of 97	34 of 97
G	6 of 28	20 of 28	2 of 28

TABLE 3: PHONES OF THE FIRST MEMBER OF /aɪ/ DIPHTHONG

x is [ɑ, ɑ., ɑ̄, ɑ̄.]
ø is [ɑ<, ɑ<., ɑ̄<, ɑ̄<., a>, a>., ā>, ā>.]
o is [a, a., aa, ā, ā.]
* is an alternate phoneme

A. *five*
B. *nine*
C. *twice*
D. *dining* (in *dining room*)
E. *China* (*dishes* or the *Peoples Republic*)
F. *spider* (in *spider web*)

G. *wife*
H. *right* (in *right ear*)
J. *tired*
K. *climbed*
L. *might*

No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.	L.	
1.	x	x	x	x	ø	x	x	x	x	x	x	
2.	x	x	x	ø	ø	x	x	x	x	x	x	
3.	ø	ø	ø	x	ø	x	x	x	x	x	x	
4.	o	x	x	ø	ø	ø	ø	x	x	–	ø	
5.	ø	x	x	–	–	x	x	x	x	x	–	
6.	o	ø	ø	–	ø	ø	ø	ø	–	ø	ø	
7.	ø	x	x	–	x	ø	x	x	x	ø	x	
8.	x	x	x	x	ø	x	x	x	x	x	x	
9.	o	ø	o	ø	o	ø	x	ø	x	ø	x	
10.	o	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	*	ø	ø	x	* is /a/ in /rat/
11.	ø	ø	ø	ø	o	ø	ø	–	ø	ø	ø	
12.	o	o	ø	–	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	
13.	x	x	x	x	x	ø	x	x	–	x	x	
14.	o	o	o	–	o	o	ø	ø	ø	*	ø	* is /ə/ in /klᵊm/
15.	ø	ø	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	*	–	* is /æ/ in /klæm/
16.	o	o	o	ø	o	ø	o	o	o	*	o	* is /æ/ in /klæm/
17.	o	ø	o	x	ø	o	o	o	o	*	o	* is /æ/ in /klæm/
18.	o	o	ø	ø	o	ø	ø	–	ø	o	ø	
19.	–	–	o	–	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	
20.	ø	o	ø	–	o	ø	ø	ø	ø	–	ø	
1.	ø	x	ø	x	ø	x	–	x	x	x	x	
2.	ø	ø	x	ø	x	ø	ø	x	x	–	–	
3.	ø	ø	x	ø	o	ø	ø	x	x	x	x	
4.	ø	ø	ø	ø	x	ø	x	ø	x	x	x	
5.	o	ø	ø	ø	o	o	o	o	ø	o	–	
6.	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	x	x	ø	ø	ø	ø	
7.	ø	ø	ø	–	o	ø	ø	ø	ø	x	ø	
8.	o	ø	ø	ø	ø	x	ø	ø	ø	o	ø	
9.	ø	ø	ø	x	x	x	ø	x	x	*	ø	* is /a/ in /klam/
10.	ø	ø	–	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	x	ø	–	

Table 4: Phones of /ɜ/. The raw phonetic material is given in Table 4 because x's and o's would certainly obliterate the distinctiveness of these features. Several kinds of analysis are necessary: (1) monophthongs versus diphthongs, (2) fronted versus nonfronted elements irrespective of environments, (3) fronted-centralized versus backed irrespective of environment, and (4) fronted versus centralized versus backed irrespective of environment.

A preliminary analysis of these phones reveals one certain feature of distribution. The incidence of mid-central monophthongs in Caucasian speech in the city is clearly dominant. Among the Negroes interviewed in the summer of 1964, only four have no occurrences of the diphthongs. All four of these are of Group I (20 year residents of the city), and three of these are natives of the city.

An equally certain feature is the distinctiveness of the diphthong, especially with a fronted or retracted initial member. However insignificant from a phonemic standpoint, this is an unmistakably foreign sound to native Chicago Caucasians and is one of the features mentioned by informant I-1, who talked for some time about the Chicago Negro and his "Southern accent."

TABLE 4:

PHONES OF /ə/ INCLUDING ALTERNATE /ɛ/ AND SIMULTANEOUS /ər/

A.	*shut* (in *shut the door*)	G.	*judge* (noun)
B.	*brush* (noun)	H.	*pus*
C.	*touch* (in *don't touch*)	J.	*nothing* (response to *what's new?*)
D.	*onions* (stressed vowel)	K.	*something* (response to *nothing*)
E.	*husband* (stressed vowel)	L.	*hundred* (stressed vowel)
F.	*son*	M.	*once* (in *at once*)

No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.	L.	M.
1.	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ə>	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ̃	ʌ̃
2.	ʌ<	ʌ	–	ʌˠ	ʌˠ	ʌˠ	ə	ɣ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ
3.	ʌ	ə<	ʌᶦ	ʌˠ	ʌᶦ	ʌᶦ	ʌˠ	ʌᶦ˂	–	ʌᶤ	ʌᶦ	ʌᶦ
4.	ə	ə	ʌ	ʌ	ʌˠ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ
5.	ʌ	ʌᵊ	ʌˠ	ʌ	ʌˠ	ʌ	ʌˠ	ʌˠ	ʌ	ʌ	ɐ	ʌ
6.	ɛ>ᵊ	ɛ<ᵋ	əᵊ	ʌˠ	–	ʌᵊ	ɛ>ᵊ	–	ʌ<ᵊ	ʌ<ᵊ	ʌ<	ʌᵊ
7.	ə	ʌ	ə	ʌ̱ᶦ	ʌᶦ	ʌᶦ	ʌᶦ	ʌᶦ	ə	ə	ʌ	ʌ̱
8.	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ̃	ʌ	–	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ̃
9.	ʌᶤ	ɛᶤ	əᶤ	ʌ<ᶤ	ʌˠ	ʌᶤ	ə	ʌˠ	ʌᶤ	ʌᵊ	ʌᶤ	ʌ̃ᶦ
10.	ʌ	ɛ>	ʌᵊ	ʌ̱ˠ	ʌᵋ	–	ɛ>	ʌ>	ʌᵋ	ʌᵋ	ʌ̱	ʌᵋ
11.	–	ɚ>	ʌᵊ	ʌ̃ᵊ	ʌᵊ	ʌᵊ	ʌˠ	ʌˠ	–	ʌᵊ	ʌ̃	ʌˠ
12.	ʌ.	ə	ʌ<	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ<	ʌ
13.	ʌ̄	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ə˄˂	ʌ	ʌ	ə˄˂	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ
14.	ə	ʌˠ	ʌ	ʌˠ	ʌ	ʌ	ə<	ə	ʌ	–	ʌ	ʌᵊ
15.	ʌ	ʌ<	–	ʌ	ʌˠ	ʌ	ʌˠ	ʌˠ	ʌˠ	ʌ	ʌ̱	–
16.	ɛ	ɛ̱	ʌˠ	ʌˠ	ʌˠ	ʌˠ	ɚ>	ʌˠ	ʌˠ	ʌ	ʌ̃	ʌ̃
17.	ɛ	ɛ>	ʌᵊ	ʌˠ	ʌˠ	ʌˠ	ɚ>	ʌˠ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ̃	ʌ̃˃˅
18.	ʌᵊ	ə̱	ʌ^	ʌˠ	ʌˠ	ʌˠ	–	ʌᵊ	–	ʌᶤ	ʌˠ	ʌᵊ
19.	ʌᵋ	ə<	ʌ˄˂	ʌ˄˂	ʌ˄˂	ʌ˄˂	ə<	ʌ˄˂	–	–	–	–
20.	ɛ	ə	ə	ʌˠ	əᶦ	ʌˠ	ɚ>	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌᵊ
1.	ʌᶤ	ʌᶤ	ʌᶤ	ʌˠ	–	ʌˠ	ʌᶦ	ʌˠ	ʌᶤ	ʌᶤ	ʌ	ʌᵊ
2.	ʌᵊ	ə>	ʌᵊ	ʌᵊ	ʌᵊ	ʌᵊ	ə>	ʌˠ	ʌᵊ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ^ᵊ
3.	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌˠ	ʌˠ	ʌ	ʌᶤ	ʌ<	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ>
4.	ʌᵊ<	ʌ<	ᵊʌ	ʌ>ˠ	ə	ʌᵊ	ʌˠ	ʌᵊ	–	ʌ	ʌᵊ	ʌˠ
5.	ə<	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ̃ˠ	ʌ	ʌᶤ	ʌᵊ	ʌˠ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ
6.	ʌ	ʌ^	ə˄˃	ə˄˃	ə˄˃	ə˄˃	ə˄˃	ə˄˃	ə	ə	ʌᵊ	ʌᶤ
7.	ʌ	əᶤ	ʌˠ	ʌ	ʌˠ	ə̱	ʌˠ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ̃
8.	uvᵊ	ʌᵊ	ə	ʌ<	ʌᵊ	ɐ̱ᵊ	ʌᵘ	ʌ	ʌᵊ	–	ʌᵊ	ʌ·ᵊ
9.	ʌᶤ	ɛ	ʌ˄˃	ʌ̱ᶦ	ʌᵊ	ʌ̃ᶤ	ə	ʌᶤ	ʌᶤ	ʌᶤ	ʌ	ʌᶤ
10.	əᶤ	əᶤ	ʌᶦ	ʌ̃<	ʌ	ʌ<	ʌ<·	–	ʌ	ʌ	ʌə	–

Table 5: Consonant Loss. Eighteen consonant phonemes are charted here. Each of these is lost in the speech of some informant, and none of these is usually lost in Caucasian speech except among very old or uneducated members of low socioeconomic groups. These consonants were classified first as stops, fricatives, and sonorants, second as voiced or voiceless consonants, and third as phonemes occuring in syllable initial, medial, or final position. Two composite types of phonemes have social significance here. These are certain phonemes which include phonic members characterized as voicing and stoppage of the air stream and which occur in syllable initial position. The /d/ phoneme in *hundred*, the /b/ phoneme in *umbrella*, and the /d/ phoneme in *candles*, and the /d/ (alternating with /t/) phoneme of *vegetables*, all occuring in the second syllable, are retained by all members of Group I, Types A-D, with two exceptions. Both of these informants, I-5 and I-6, are over age fifty-five and neither is a native of Chicago. Similar incidence is the loss of the syllable initial sonorants of /h/ in *forehead* and /j/ in *yeast*. Three members of Group I, Types A-D, lose these consonants, and, like I-5 and I-6, informant I-9 is also over age fifty-five and a non-native Chicagoan. Among other forms in this table, the incidence is as expected. Members of Groups I and II of lower sociolinguistic types have a higher frequency of consonant loss than do the higher ranked informants.

It should be noted in passing that item S in this table, the /w/ of *Louisiana*, is obviously a syllable loss, but since there is no chart to illustrate that phenomenon, the feature is included in this Table. The incidence of the four syllable utterance is quite atypical of Chicago Caucasian speech.

TABLE 5: CONSONANT LOSS

x is consonant retained
o is consonant lost
ϕ is alternate consonant (/t/ in *ninth* /naɪnt/)

A. /l/ in *help* /hɛlp/
B. /t d/ in *vegetables* /vɛjtəbəlz/
C. /h/ in *forehead* /forhɛd/
D. /d t/ in *hundred* /həndrɪd/
E. /d/ in *good (morning* /gʊd mɔrnɪŋ/
F. /b/ in *umbrella* /əmbrɛlə/
G. /b/ in *tube* /tub/
H. /t/ in *chest* /čɛst/
J. /t/ in *left-overs* /lɛft ovəɹz/
K. /θ/ in *fifth* /fɪfθ/
L. /θ/ in *ninth* /naɪnθ/
M. /t/ in *joints* /ǰɔɪnts/
N. /g/ in *bag* /bæg/
O. /j/ in *yeast* /jist/
P. /t/ in *yeast* /jist/
Q. /t/ in *caught (a) cold* /kɔt kold/
R. /d/ in *candles* /kændəlz/
S. /w/ in *Louisiana* /luwiziænə/

No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.	L.	M.	N.	O.	P.	Q.	R.	S.
1.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
2.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
3.	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	o	x	o	o	x	o
4.	x	x	x	x	o	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
5.	–	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	–	o	o	x	x	o	x	–	o	o
6.	–	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	ϕ	o	o	o	x	–	x	o
7.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	x	–	x	o
8.	x	x	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x
9.	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	o	x	–	x	o
10.	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	o	x	o	o	x	x
11.	x	–	x	x	x	o	x	o	–	o	x	o	x	x	x	o	x	x
12.	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	x	o	o
13.	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	o	o	x	o
14.	–	x	x	x	o	x	o	x	–	x	x	o	x	o	x	–	o	o
15.	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	o	x	x	x	o	o	o	–	o	o
16.	o	x	x	o	x	o	x	o	x	o	x	–	x	o	o	o	x	o
17.	–	o	x	x	x	o	x	o	o	o	o	x	x	o	o	x	o	o
18.	–	o	o	o	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	o	x	x	o	o	o
19.	o	x	x	–	x	o	x	o	o	–	–	o	o	o	x	o	o	o
20.	o	o	o	o	x	o	x	o	o	o	ϕ	x	x	o	x	–	o	o
1.	x	x	o	x	x	x	o	o	o	o	–	x	–	x	x	–	x	o
2.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	o	–	x	x	x	o	o	x	x
3.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o
4.	o	x	x	x	x	x	–	x	–	x	x	–	o	x	x	o	o	–
5.	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	o	x	o	x	o	x	o	o	o
6.	–	–	x	x	o	x	x	o	o	o	x	x	o	x	o	x	x	o
7.	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o
8.	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	o	x	x	o	x	x	o	o	o
9.	o	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	o	o	o	x	x	o	o	o	–	o
10.	o	o	x	x	o	o	o	–	–	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o

Table 6: Incidence of Consonant Phonemes. Four groups of consonant phonemes are classified in this table, the occurrence of the voiced spirant in *grease* and *greasy*, the alternation of the dental stop with the dental fricative in *this year*, *this way*, and *wash the dishes*, the alternation of the labio-dental fricative with the interdental fricative in *with*, *without*, *mouth*. and *fourth*, and the incidence of relic and assimilated forms in *rinses*, *chimney*, and *Birmingham*, i.e., /rînčiz/, /čîmli/, and /bərniŋhæm/.

The first pair reveals the same peculiar distributional pattern found earlier, i.e., a higher incidence of /z/ among native Chicago Negroes than among any Midland or most Southern born immigrants. Here, indeed, seems the first clear feature of the Upsouth Negro dialect. The distribution in the 1963 analysis showed:

Chicago born Negroes	24 /z/	and 3 /s/
Midland ″ ″	5 /z/	and 5 /s/
Southern ″ ″	20 /z/	and 10 /s/

The current investigation shows:

Chicago born Negroes having	7 /z/	and 5 /s/
Midland ″ ″ ″	10 /z/	and 8 /s/
Southern ″ ″ ″	14 /z/	and 11 /s/

The factor to be considered here is that all informants were to be over age thirty in the current survey. In the previous investigation, high school age native Negroes were interviewed, and this powerfully influential group showed seventeen instances of /z/ to seven for /s/.

The incidence of dental stops for interdental fricatives appears much less frequently in the table than either Mark Twain or the script writers of Amos and Andy would have us believe. On the other hand, it must be remembered that questionnaire responses are perhaps more careful than free conversation, where there seems to be a higher frequency in the tapes. Almost every informant typed E-G has at least one occurrence of dental stop for dental fricative.

The fourth group of forms, M, N, O, in the Table, have their highest frequency among older informants of all types and, to a somewhat lesser extent, among lower sociolinguistic types. This combination of factors, older age and lower sociolinguistic type, accounts for the higher frequency of these recessive forms among members of Group I. Eleven members of that group have at least two of three instances, and nine of these are over age forty; seven of eleven, however, are Types E-G. Both informants under age forty are of Type D, the bottom of the nonlow section, with forty-four points. Both members of Group II with two or more occurrences of these forms are Type G with the maximum total of sixty-five sociolinguist points.

Table 7: Systematic Alternation of Stressed Vowels. The incidence of vowels charted in this table are of three types: (1) those alternating /ɛ~æ/ before heterosyllabic /r/, items A-D, (2) those alternating /ɔ~o/ before tautosyllabic

TABLE 6: INCIDENCE OF CONSONANT PHONEMES

A. *February*	x is /b/	o is /v/	* is consonant loss
B. *February*	x is /ru∽rʊ/	o is /ju∽jʊ/	* is consonant loss /ə/
C. *grease*	x is /s/	o is /z/	
D. *greasy*	x is /s/	o is /z/	
E. *this* (*year*	x is /ð/	o is /d/	
F. *this* (*way*	x is /ð/	o is /d/	
G. *wash*) *the* (*dishes*	x is /ð/	o is /d/	* is consonant loss
H. *with* (*milk*	x is /ð∼θ/	o is /f/	ɸ is /ð/
J. *without* (*milk*	x is /ð∼θ/	o is /f/	ɸ is /d/
K. *mouth*	x is /θ/	o is /f/	
L. *fourth*	x is /θ/	o is /f/	
M. *rinses*	x is /s/	o is /ʃ/	
N. *chimney*	x is /n/	o is /l/	
O. *Birmingham*	x is /m/	o is /n/	(/bermɪŋhæm/ vs /barnɪŋhæm/)

No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.	L.	M.	N.	O.
1.	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
2.	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x
3.	x	o	x	o	x	*	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
4.	x	o	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x
5.	o	*	o	o	x	*	–	x	x	x	x	o	o	–
6.	x	x	x	x	x	*	–	x	x	x	o	o	o	x
7.	x	o	x	o	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
8.	x	*	o	o	x	o	o	x	ɸ	x	o	o	o	o
9.	x	o	x	x	x	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
10.	*	o	o	o	x	*	–	x	x	o	x	o	o	x
11.	x	*	o	o	x	–	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x
12.	x	o	o	o	x	*	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o
13.	x	x	x	x	x	*	o	x	x	x	x	o	o	x
14.	x	*	o	o	x	o	–	x	x	o	x	x	o	x
15.	x	*	x	–	x	–	–	–	–	x	x	x	x	x
16.	o	*	o	o	x	*	–	x	ɸ	o	x	o	o	x
17.	x	o	o	o	x	–	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	o
18.	o	o	x	o	x	–	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x
19.	x	o	o	o	x	–	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o
20.	o	*	x	o	x	o	x	o	o	x	o	x	o	o
1.	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
2.	x	*	o	x	x	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x
3.	–	–	x	o	x	o	x	ɸ	x	x	x	–	o	x
4.	x	o	x	o	x	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x

5.	x	o	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
6.	x	o	x	o	x	o	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
7.	o	*	o	o	x	–	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x
8.	x	*	x	x	x	–	x	x	x	o	o	x	o	x
9.	x	*	x	o	x	x	x	o	o	–	o	o	o	o
10.	o	o	o	x	o	–	o	–	ϕ	x	o	o	x	o

/ɛ/, items E-F, (3) those alternating /ɑ∼ɔ/ through the development of Middle English vowels, items G-P.

All fifteen of these items have sociolinguistic importance in their distribution among Chicago Area Caucasians. If we compare the Caucasian distribution with the incidence of these vowels among representative types from both races, we see some interesting similarities and differences. Furthermore, we find evidence to support the contention that investigative technique must be flexible and suited to the situation.

For example, /æ/ in items A-D in Caucasian speech occurs most frequently in the speech of informants under twenty-one, especially those of the highest socioeconomic class. It is found to a lesser extent among informants twenty-one to forty-five, especially those particularly sensitive to "preferred" forms, and among those over age fifty with bicultural or bilingual ties.

The phonemic distribution of /ɔ∼o/ in items E-F is a recessive feature in Caucasian speech in northeastern Illinois with the highest incidence shared by well-educated urban and suburban informants and old rural informants living in the out-counties.

The incidence of /ɔ/ instead of /ɑ/ in items G-H is most frequent among the lowest socioeconomic types of all urban and suburban age groups and equally consistent among the rural residents irrespective of class.

The occurrence of /ɑ/ for the usual /ɔ/ in items J-P is a distinctive feature of the speech of low socially classed urban Caucasians.

Finally the diphthong /aU/ was not recorded in items N, O, P in Caucasian speech.

Items A-F are most effectively analyzed on the basis of regional dialects. The recessive features in *dairy*, *married*, *kerosene*, *parents*, *hoarse*, and *mourning* are also found in local Caucasian speech, but, as reported in *The Pronunciation of English in Metropolitan Chicago* (1964), the highest incidence of those recessive features was found among Negroes, irrespective of social class. These recessive features, marked *o* in Table 7, are to be regarded, tentatively, as vestiges of Midland and Southern dialects.

TABLE 7: SYSTEMATIC ALTERNATION OF STRESSED VOWELS

A.	*dairy*	x is /ɛ/	o is /æ/	ϕ is /ə/	
B.	*married*	x is /ɛ/	o is /æ/	ϕ is /ə/	
C.	*kerosene*	x is /ɛ/	o is /æ/	ϕ is /ə/	
D.	*parents*	x is /ɛ/	o is /æ/		
E.	*hoarse*	x is /ɔ/	o is /o/		
F.	*mourning*	x is /ɔ/	o is /o/		
G.	*tomorrow*	x is /a/	o is /ɔ/		
H.	*borrow*	x is /â/	o is /ɔ/		
J.	*palm*	x is /a/	o is /ɔ/	ϕ is /æ/	
K.	*wash* (noun)	x is /ɔ/	o is /a/		
L.	*wash* (verb)	x is /ɔ/	o is /a/		
M.	*water* (noun)	x is /ɔ/	o is /a/		
N.	*faucet*	x is /ɔ/	o is /a/	ϕ is /aʊ/	
O.	*laundry*	x is /ɔ/	o is /a/	ϕ is /aʊ/	
P.	*haunted*	x is /ɔ/	o is /a/	ϕ is /aʊ/	∅ is /æ/

No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.	L.	M.	N.	O.	P.
1.	x	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
2.	o	o	ϕ	o	o	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	o
3.	ϕ	o	–	o	o	–	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	ϕ
4.	x	o	x	o	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x
5.	–	o	o	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	–
6.	x	o	x	o	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	o
7.	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	o
8.	x	o	x	o	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	o	o	o
9.	x	o	x	x	x	o	x	o	x	–	x	x	x	x	o
10.	x	o	–	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	o	–	ϕ	o	ϕ
11.	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o
12.	x	–	o	o	x	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	o	o
13.	x	x	x	o	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	o	o	o
14.	x	ϕ	x	o	x	o	–	x	x	x	x	x	–	x	x
15.	o	o	–	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	–
16.	x	o	x	o	o	o	x	x	x	o	o	x	o	x	o
17.	o	–	–	o	o	o	x	x	ϕ	x	x	o	–	o	x
18.	x	–	x	o	o	o	o	o	x	x	x	x	o	o	o
19.	x	o	o	–	o	–	x	o	o	o	o	x	–	o	x
20.	–	o	–	o	o	–	x	o	x	o	o	x	ϕ	o	∅

1.	x	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o
2.	x	x	–	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	o	o	o	o
3.	o	o	x	o	o	o	x	o	x	x	o	x	o	ϕ	x
4.	ϕ	o	x	o	x	o	o	o	x	x	o	–	x	o	ϕ
5.	x	o	x	o	o	o	x	x	x	o	o	x	o	o	o
6.	x	–	o	o	o	o	x	o	x	o	o	–	o	o	x
7.	o	o	ϕ	o	o	o	x	x	x	x	o	o	o	o	x
8.	x	o	x	–	o	o	x	x	x	o	o	o	o	x	o
9.	ϕ	o	–	o	o	x	x	x	ϕ	o	o	x	o	o	ϕ
10.	o	o	o	o	o	–	x	o	ϕ	o	x	x	o	o	–

Items G-J, when restricted to a large number of Negro speakers, demonstrate a pattern of distribution which parallels the incidence among Chicago Caucasians: the more highly educated informants have the unrounded allophones of /a/ in *tomorrow*, *borrow*, and *palm*.

In items K-L the development of Middle English /wa/ shows its neatest pattern of distribution in the pronunciation of *wash* (the verb or the noun), where the unrounded vowel /a/ occurs only in the speech of the lowest ranked members of Group I (I-10, 16, 19, and 20). Among the recent arrivals (Group II), ten to twelve instances of /a/ in *wash* occur in the speech of informants ranked F-G. No informant ranked A or B in either group has a single instance of this recessive form.

The development of the Middle English diphthong /aU/ shows the following social distribution of recessive features in *faucet*, *laundry*, and *haunted*:

Group I	Types A-D	16 of 29 instances of /a/ or /aU/ instead of /ɔ/
	Types E-G	19 of 26 instances of /a/ or /aU/ instead of /ɔ/
Group II	Types A-D	7 of 9 instances of /a/ or /aU/ instead of /ɔ/
	Types E-G	17 of 21 instances of /a/ or /aU/ instead of /ɔ/

Among native Chicago Negroes (all Group I):

Types A-D	under age 40	8 of 9 instances of /a/ or /aU/ instead of /ɔ/
	over age 40	1 of 3 instances of /a/ or /aU/ instead of /ɔ/
Types E-G	under age 40	4 of 6 instances of /a/ or /aU/ instead of /ɔ/

These figures again emphasize the spread of Caucasian recessive features, especially among the younger Chicago-born Negroes.

It is probably coincidental, but perhaps culturally explainable that all six instances of the /aU/ diphthong in N, O, P occur in the speech of male informants (I-3, I-10, I-20 and II-3, II-4) because most of these relate to female duties (the *dishes* and the *washing*).

Table 8: Nonsystematic Alternation of Vowels. The vowels in this table are distinguished as stressed and weakly stressed because the distributions within each set are somewhat different.

Among the stressed vowels, the occurrence of /ɪ/ in *deaf*, /dɪf/, agrees with the observation of Kurath and McDavid concerning this alternation in the Atlantic states: incidence of the recessive form is highest among the lower social classes but the feature is also found among natives of the deep South and South Midland area:

I-4, I-7, and I-10 have parents from those areas.
I-18 and I-20 are ranked F and K.
II-4, II-9, II-10 are all natives of the deep South.

In Caucasian Chicago speech this form occurs only among members of the lowest socioeconomic groups.

The incidence of the /ʌ/ phoneme in *rather*, /rʌðər/, occurs in seven of eight instances among members typed F-G, five of whom are of Group I. The occurrence of the /ɛ/ phoneme in /rɛðər/ corresponds roughly with the Kurath-McDavid observation, viz., that it is restricted to the speech of the folk and middle groups.

The most clearly distinctive feature of Chicago Negro speech is the occurrence of /a/ for usual /æ/ in *aunt*. The /æ/ phoneme was heard only seven times in this context and never among members of types A-B.

The remaining items, D-G, are pretty well restricted to Types D-G of both groups with the highest frequency among Types F-G.

Similar distribution is found among the recessive forms of the weakly stressed vowels in this Table. The notable exceptions occur under items K-O among members of Group I. Types A-D, who have a rather high frequency of recessive forms (19 of 49). Conversely among the first three members of Group II, there is but one of fifteen instances.

TABLE 8: NONSYSTEMATIC ALTERNATION OF VOWELS

A.	*deaf*		x is /ɛ/	o is /ɪ/	ϕ is both
B.	*rather*		x is /æ/	o is /ɔ/	ϕ is /ɛ/
C.	*aunt*		x is /æ/	o is /a/	ϕ is both
D.	*shut*		x is /ə/	o is /ɛ/	ϕ is /ʊ/
E.	*brush* (noun)		x is /ə/	o is /ɛ/	
F.	*soot*		x is /ʊ/	o is /ə/	
G.	*roof*		x is /ʊ/	o is /u/	
H.	*window*	(2nd syllable)	x is /o/	o is /ə/	
J.	*widow*	(2nd syllable)	x is /o/	o is /ə/	
K.	*yellow*	(2nd syllable)	x is /o/	o is /ə/	ϕ is /u/
L.	*tomorrow*	(3rd syllable)	x is /o/	o is /ə/	ϕ is /u/
M.	*tomato*	(3rd syllable)	x is /o/	o is /ə/	ϕ is /ɪ/
N.	*Saturday*	(2nd syllable)	x is /ə/	o is /ɪ/	
O.	*genuine*	(3rd syllable)	x is /ɪ∽ə/	o is /aɪ/	

	Stressed Vowels							Weakly Stressed Vowels						
No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.	L.	M.	N.	O.
1.	x	ϕ	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x
2.	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o
3.	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	o	ϕ	x	o	x
4.	ϕ	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o
5.	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	–	x	o	o	o	x	–
6.	x	x	o	o	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	o	x	o
7.	o	x	o	x	x	x	x	–	x	o	x	x	o	x
8.	x	ϕ	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o
9.	x	–	o	x	o	x	x	x	o	–	o	x	o	o
10.	o	o	ϕ	o	o	o	x	o	–	o	o	o	x	x
11.	x	x	x	–	x	x	–	x	o	o	x	ϕ	o	o
12.	x	ϕ	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	o	x	o	x	o
13.	x	x	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
14.	x	ϕ	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	–	o	o	o
15.	x	–	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	o	x	o	o	–
16.	x	o	o	o	x	o	–	–	o	ϕ	o	o	o	x
17.	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	x
18.	o	o	x	x	x	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	x	o
19.	x	o	x	x	x	o	x	o	x	o	o	o	x	o
20.	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	x	o	x	o	o	x
1.	x	–	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
2.	x	x	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
3.	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x
4.	ϕ	–	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	ϕ	x	o
5.	x	x	o	o	x	o	x	x	x	o	o	o	x	o
6.	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	x
7.	x	x	o	x	o	o	x	x	x	o	o	o	o	o
8.	x	x	o	ϕ	x	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	x
9.	ϕ	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	–	x	o
10.	o	–	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	–

Table 9: Lexical Differences. The paucity of lexical material with sociologically distributed variation reflects the thus far inadequate analysis of the Chicago lexicon. This is not to suggest that important information is not to be found in Chicago word studies, but this brief review does suggest that a more productive set of items should be established before moving to the next phase of the investigation.

Two aspects of the lexicon that should certainly be explored are Southernisms versus urbanisms and the intricacies of ingroup Negro slang. An item not shown in the Table is *soul food* which signifies the rib-stick results of fine southern cooking. About one fourth of the informants knew the word, and informant I-1 recalls the expression from his boyhood in Virginia. The term surely deserves more investigation and it is obviously wrong to assume, as we otherwise might, that it was coined by the Management of the Archways Restaurant on Chicago's South Side.

The recessive items in Table 9 are predominantly relics of Southern speech. Items G and J, *stomp* and *scared* have the highest frequency of occurrence and these forms, along with *aunty*, are the only recessive items which are not clearly old-fashioned.

The overall pattern of distribution shows all informants under age 40 with more than a few recessive forms to be Types D-G (I-8, I-10, II-8, II-10). All others having a high recurrence of recessive features are older and of Types E-G (I-11, I-14, I-16, I-17, I-18, I-19, I-20, and II-9). Notice that seven of these eight are of Types F-G.

TABLE 9: LEXICAL DIFFERENCES

A.	x is *faucet* (at the sink)	o is *hydrant, pipe, or spigot*	
B.	x is *kerosene*	o is *coal oil*	ϕ is both
C.	x is *yolk* (of the egg)	o is *yellow* (of the egg)	
D.	x is *cobweb* (indoors)	o is *spiderweb* (indoors)	
E.	x is *chest* (of a man)	o is *breast* (of a man)	
F.	x is *got sick, got ill, or was sick*	o is *took sick or took ill*	ϕ is *came ill*
G.	x is *stamp* (on the floor)	o is *stomp*	
H.	x is *bulge*	o is *stand out, stick out, or bugle out*	
J.	x is *afraid*	o is *scared*	ϕ is *afeared or sceared*
K.	x is *aunt*	o is *aunty*	ϕ is both

No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.
1.	x	x	x	o	x	x	o	x	x	x
2.	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x
3.	x	o	x	x	x	o	o	x	o	x
4.	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	o	x
5.	x	ϕ	o	o	o	–	x	x	x	x
6.	x	ϕ	x	x	x	ϕ	o	x	o	x
7.	x	x	o	x	x	–	o	x	o	ϕ
8.	o	x	o	x	x	o	o	x	o	x
9.	x	ϕ	–	x	x	o	o	x	o	x
10.	x	o	o	o	o	x	x	x	o	x
11.	x	ϕ	o	x	x	o	o	x	o	x
12.	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	ϕ
13.	x	ϕ	x	o	x	o	x	x	o	x
14.	o	x	o	o	o	–	o	x	o	x
15.	x	–	x	o	x	x	o	o	x	o
16.	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	o	x
17.	o	o	–	o	x	x	o	o	o	x
18.	x	ϕ	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	ϕ
19.	o	ϕ	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x
20.	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	x	o
1.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	ϕ
2.	x	o	x	x	x	o	o	x	o	x
3.	x	x	x	o	x	x	o	x	x	x
4.	x	ϕ	x	x	x	–	o	x	ϕ	x
5.	x	ϕ	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	x
6.	x	o	x	x	x	o	o	x	o	x
7.	x	ϕ	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
8.	x	ϕ	o	x	x	–	o	–	o	x
9.	x	o	x	o	o	–	o	o	o	x
10.	x	ϕ	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o

Table 10: Verb Forms. As has been pointed out many times, standard verb forms in America are more important social class indicators than standard pronunciation, whereas in England the opposite is true. The items in this Table certainly corroborate this observation. In six forms, B, C, G. J, K, and O, there is not a single instance of the standard verb form among Group I members of Types F and G, i.e., thirty-six of thirty-six instances of nonstandard forms. With the exception of items A and F, all other verb forms in this Table show a preponderance of nonstandard forms in the speech of these seven informants.

Among the new arrivals, the incidence of standard forms is much higher among Types F-G, i.e., informants II-5 through II-10, than among the lower types of Group I. This is probably explained by the fact that the median grade level for Types F-G of Group I is 7.4 and for Types F-G of Group II is 10.6.

TABLE 10: VERB FORMS

Past Tense						
A.	*drive*	x is *drove*		o is *drive*	◆ is *driv*	ϕ is *drived*
B.	*sit*	x is *sat*		o is *sit*	◆ is *set*	
C.	*swim*	x is *swam*		o is *swim*	◆ is *swum*	ϕ is *swimmed*
D.	*begin*	x is *began*		o is *begin*	◆ is *begun*	
E.	*dive*	x is *dived*	X is *dove*	o is *dive*		ϕ is *dived*
F.	*kneel*	x is *kneeled*	X is *knelt*	o is *kneel*		
G.	*climb*	x is *climbed*		o is *climb*	◆ is *clum*	
H.	*eat*	x is *ate*		o is *eat*		
Past Participle						
J.	*drown*	x is *drowned*		o is *drown*		ϕ is *drownded*
K.	*bite*	x is *bitten*			◆ is *bit*	
L.	*eat*	x is *eaten*		o is *eat*	◆ is *ate*	ϕ is *et*
M.	*write*	x is *written*			◆ is *wrote*	ϕ is *wrotten*
N.	*drink*	x is *drunk*	X is *drank*	o is *drink*	◆ is *drinken*	ϕ is *drinkt*
O.	*do*	x is *done*			◆ is *did*	

No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.	L.	M.	N.	O.
1.	x	x	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x	x	X	x
2.	x	x	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	ɸ	x	x	X	x
3.	–	x	–	–	o	–	–	x	Φ	ɸ	x	x	–	–
4.	ɸ	x	ɸ	ɸ	X	X	–	x	x	x	x	o	Φ	–
5.	x	ɸ	x	x	–	X	x	x	o	ɸ	ɸ	o	X	ɸ
6.	x	ɸ	x	–	x	x	x	–	x	ɸ	–	o	–	ɸ
7.	x	x	ɸ	x	X	x	o	–	Φ	x	–	ɸ	X	ɸ
8.	x	x	o	x	X	x	x	x	Φ	x	x	ɸ	x	x
9.	x	x	x	x	X	–	o	x	x	ɸ	x	x	–	–
10.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	–	x	ɸ	–	ɸ	Φ	–
11.	x	–	x	o	X	x	–	x	Φ	x	x	ɸ	o	ɸ
12.	x	ɸ	ɸ	x	o	x	x	x	o	ɸ	x	ɸ	ɸ	x
13.	x	x	x	–	x	x	–	–	x	x	ɸ	x	o	–
14.	x	ɸ	o	x	X	X	ɸ	x	Φ	ɸ	ɸ	x	X	ɸ
15.	x	ɸ	o	ɸ	–	–	o	–	Φ	ɸ	ɸ	–	Φ	–
16.	x	ɸ	o	x	–	o	o	o	Φ	ɸ	Φ	ɸ	o	ɸ
17.	x	ɸ	o	–	o	X	–	–	Φ	ɸ	o	ɸ	Φ	ɸ
18.	x	ɸ	o	–	o	X	–	–	Φ	ɸ	x	x	ɸ	ɸ
19.	o	ɸ	o	x	x	x	o	–	Φ	–	–	ɸ	o	ɸ
20.	x	ɸ	o	o	o	x	–	x	Φ	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	Φ	–
1.	–	ɸ	x	x	X	X	x	x	x	x	–	x	–	–
2.	–	–	x	x	x	x	–	x	x	x	–	x	–	–
3.	x	x	x	x	X	X	x	x	x	x	x	x	Φ	x
4.	x	o	Φ	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	ɸ	x	–	ɸ
5.	x	x	x	x	x	X	o	△	x	x	x	x	X	x
6.	x	–	x	–	Φ	o	x	x	–	ɸ	–	x	o	–
7.	x	ɸ	o	ɸ	X	–	x	x	Φ	x	x	x	o	x
8.	x	ɸ	o	x	x	x	x	x	Φ	x	–	–	o	ɸ
9.	o	o	Φ	–	o	x	o	x	o	ɸ	ɸ	Φ	–	–
10.	x	x	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	ɸ	o	ɸ	x	ɸ

DISCUSSION

William A. Stewart, Center for Applied Linguistics
Harry Levin, Cornell University

After a brief discussion on eliciting techniques, the discussion of this paper focused on sociolinguistic scales. Overlaying the discussion was the question of whether one predicts linguistic facts from sociological information or determines sociological information from linguistic facts.

THE PROBLEM OF AMERICAN INDIAN ENGLISH

ROGER W. SHUY

What I have to say is a little different from what has been said earlier. It is shorter; it is based on very little data; it is more a plan than a report of research; and it has the advantage of asking for criticism as I begin rather than after I finish. I will appreciate any suggestions you may be able to give me. What I would like to study is the English of American Indians.

My interest in the English of American Indians has grown out of association with the Carnegie Cross-Cultural Educational Project for which I worked as a consultant. This project was started in 1962 as a result of the Indians' request for a forum where they could exchange ideas and of their expression of dissatisfaction at their own English reading abilities. Sol Tax and Robert Thomas, directors of the project, have built up a newsletter which they have now established and are presently at work on various other related projects, all centering on methods of improving the communication problems of the American Indian.

At the heart of the communication problem of the American Indian is this question: in what way, if any, is the English of the American Indians different from that of non-Indians of the same relative social status and geographical environment? This problem is of natural interest to sociologists and dialectologists in that it involves both the description of language differences and the clues to social identification which are involved in the linguistic aspects. The educator should be equally interested, for we are told that the teaching of English is one of the most serious handicaps to Indian education. The English of the Pine Ridge Sioux, for example, has recently been described as an alien language used only in dealing with teachers, most of whom encourage spoken English but condemn it as substandard the moment it is uttered.[1]

The problem of improving the English of American Indians is, I am sure, a complex task. There are many variables in status which must be taken into consideration including reservation versus nonreservation English, urban-rural contrasts, and such phenomena as native language interference, the influence of local American English dialects (cultivated and uncultivated), age differences, and so forth.

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[1] Murray L. Wax, Rosalie H. Wax, and Robert V. Dumont, Jr., "Formal Education in an American Indian Community," *Social Problems* (Spring, 1964), p. 82.

In any case, it should be clear that when we talk about improving the linguistic patterns of nonstandard speakers in America, we must certainly think also of these Indians. In the United States, a nation which has approximately half a million Indians living on reservations (some, incidentally, with 85 percent unemployment), and in which the Indian family income is roughly one third of that of the national average and which was a high school dropout rate of 60 percent among Indians, something ought to be done. As a beginning point, I would suggest that we must learn as much as we can about American Indian English just as Miss Williamson has suggested that we learn as much about the English of Negroes of her area. Our description should reveal those elements, both in speech and in writing, which prevent Indians from attaining the social status which, with socially acceptable language, they might otherwise attain. The most obvious way of determining how the Indian compares to the non-Indian in matters of English is by means of an objectively and inductively gathered corpus of actual linguistic material. The Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada would be a natural source for such information, but to my knowledge, the Atlas field workers have not interviewed Indians in their wide meshed surveys of American speech.[2] The reason for this is obvious. The field workers select informants who are representative of their various regions and, except in certain reservation counties west of the Mississippi, the Indian is certainly not typical of the native population. (Note that we are defining "native" here in a way that might seem peculiar to the Indian.) The Atlas, however, can be very useful for this type of study where the field records of non-Indians of a particular area can be used as a touchstone with which to compare the responses of the Indians. Thus we can determine how different the English of these two groups actually is and what the key sociolinguistic distinctions are which set the two groups apart. To be sure, it may be necessary to interview non-Indian informants in many places where the comparable Linguistic Atlas field records are lacking but that too is within the scope of this project.

What I propose then, is this: First, linguistic field work, similar to the type done for the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, should be started in various key communities in the United States with both reservation and non-reservation Indians. The details of such a project will have to be worked out, preferably by a committee of specialists. That is why I am presenting this now. Such matters as how extensive the research should be, where it should begin and what types should be interviewed, may have to be settled as the work progresses, but following several suggestions of these sessions, it would be good to get the opinions of authorities beforehand.

Second, I would like to describe and analyze the features of English which separate the Indians from non-Indians. I should hope to discover larger systems and patterns, but how this is to be done would have to be determined as the work goes along.

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[2] A limited amount of information about the English vocabulary of Indians, however, has been gathered. I presented these data at the 1964 meeting of the Midwest Modern Language Association.

Third, I would like to utilize the findings of this study as a beginning point for improving the English of the American Indian which, incidentally, was one focus of the Carnegie Cross-Cultural Educational Project in the first place. No doubt this will involve written materials, textbooks of some kind, and a training program for teachers of English to Indians. Perhaps the latter is the most significant of the three, at least as a first step. Undoubtedly this would involve setting up different programs for different tribes, geographical areas, and education levels, but this is the general direction in which I would like to point. The situation described at Pine Ridge is probably typical and should be abolished. I would like to quote Murray and Rosalie Wax and Robert DuMont, in their recent monograph in which they say: "Teachers are trained to criticize the local dialect as bad English and so no sooner does the Indian child open his mouth to speak English than he is branded publicly as speaking incorrectly."[9] The recent Tucson conference has shown that many teachers of English to Indians are asking for help. Some 100 to 150 such teachers were there, and I present this as a basic outline of an approach to studying the problems of teaching English to American Indians.

DISCUSSION

Sao-su C. Lin, Southern University
William Labov, Columbia University
Raven I. McDavid, Jr., University of Chicago

The major focus of the discussion of this presentation was on technique. Labov questioned the usefulness of the Linguistic Atlas approach in such a study since, he felt, lexical items were of little value and Atlas methods of investigating phonology would not be useful. Others took a different view, feeling that a modified and adapted Atlas questionnaire would have much usefulness as a source of comparison to extant non-Indian field records. All seemed to agree that particular local situations would be the ultimate determiner of the outlined approach.

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[9] *Idem.*

III.

Reports on School and College Teaching Programs

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PATTERN PRACTICE IN A FRESHMAN ENGLISH PROGRAM

SAN-SU C. LIN

The English project at Claflin College was a three year experiment terminated in June 1964. Supported by the U. S. Office of Education under Project English, it experimented with the use of pattern practice techniques to help southern Negro students establish control of the structural patterns of Standard English in speaking and in writing.

Pattern practice techniques, first used by Charles C. Fries in his intensive program in teaching English as a second language in World War II, have proved effective in foreign language programs. The basic assumption of the Claflin project was that when a student who uses a nonstandard dialect attempts to master Standard English, he is in effect learning a second dialect or a foreign language. The objective of our project, therefore, was to experiment with pattern practice techniques in a Standard English program and to find out to what extent these techniques could help nonstandard speakers master Standard English.

Since the students' habit of using dialect patterns was more deeply rooted in speech than in writing, and since we believed that the students' writing was primarily a reflection of their speech patterns, priority was given to oral practice which was later followed up by practice in writing. The patterns to be practiced were determined by a study of the students' dialect patterns and language needs. After checking the students' essays and tape-recorded personal interviews, we found that dialect usages occurred mainly in five categories. The greatest number by far occurred in the verb category, including verb form, verb tense, and subject-verb agreement. Next came the category of nouns, including both plural and possessive forms. The other three categories were pronoun forms; confusion of adjectives and adverbs; and the use of double constructions, including double negative, double subject, and double comparison. The category of double constructions varied greatly with individuals and with different subject matter used by the same individual. For example, talking about one's family often yielded more double constructions than discussing what one saw in a picture.

The list of clearly substandard usage patterns, if grouped in categories, is not very long. To take their counterparts in Standard English one at a time and to require students to practice these standard patterns in context until they can use them naturally may sound very simple. In fact, the idea that pattern practice may solve the students' dialect problems which many years of English instruction in high school and elementary school have not solved seems very naive, particularly to the seasoned English teacher deeply rooted in the discipline of traditional grammar. Most college freshmen also have an unshakable faith in grammatical rules, although they do not always know what the rules are. Anyway, parrot-like repetitions and audiolingual drills day in and day out are hardly the kind of things they expect from college. It is clear that pattern practice, to be effective, must be administered in a form palatable to the student.

In addition, how do we know that a student is ready to accept Standard English as a necessary achievement, and to refrain from using the local dialect which has been so intimately a part of him ever since his early childhood and which is still a precious link with those closest to him? He will need Standard English in the future and he pays lip service to its importance, but the future is remote, and the dialect is comfortable and relaxing in his own subculture. Furthermore, how do we know that the student actually hears the difference between his dialect and Standard English? The answer to this question may sound unconvincing at first, but the truth is that a human being does not hear or see every sound or sight in the outside world. His senses are highly selective and he hears and sees only what is meaningful to him. If the grammatical concepts of noun plural and verb tense do not exist in a student's dialect, it is not likely that he is aware of the sound segments that signify these concepts. According to our experience, a student simply did not see the *s* and *ed* endings printed in black and white when he was asked to read aloud a paragraph in the textbook, and, after several months of practice with the tape recorder, we often found him conscientiously repeating "Johnny begin to read" when the model voice clearly said "Johnny begins to read." To plead with him to listen carefully was useless. Many instructors had done that and still complained of the inability of college students to follow simple instructions. Some instructors blamed repetitious radio and TV advertising for this kind of inattention. Others blamed the indulgence of school teachers. Probably the entire cultural background of these students was not conducive to good listening. A student, therefore, must be trained intensively to hear the significant sound segments in a word, particularly those representing important grammatical concepts in Standard English, so that these concepts might penetrate his consciousness and, in turn, sharpen his perception. Until then, any audiolingual practice can only reenforce dialect habits instead of cultivating new habits which lead to the mastery of Standard English.

We decided, therefore, to present an integrated instructional program in which ear perception and pattern practice were incorporated in the instruction of pronunciation, spelling, punctuation, sentence structure, and reading.

Immediately after a discussion of the four phases of communication—reading, writing, listening, and speaking—the difference between spoken English and written English was pointed out to the students. This led to a discussion of the levels of usage, with specific reference to the differences between dialect, colloquial, and formal usages. Next came a discussion of the nature of speech sounds and the characteristics of the written symbols of English (including nonverbal symbols such as the punctuation marks). This discussion stressed the concept that the sound is not the spelling, and that the pause in speech is not always the same as the comma in punctuation. Then the students were shown how certain sound segments were represented by certain spelling patterns and how intonation patterns could signal structural units and could be used to tell a good sentence from a fragmentary or run on sentence.

In a lesson on relating sound to spelling, the teacher asked such questions as the following:

> How does this word (or syllable) begin? It begins with what letter?
> How does this word (or syllable) begin? It begins with what sound?
> In the word *magnificent*, when the letter *c* is followed by *e*, what sound does the letter *c* represent?
> In the word *significant*, when the letter *c* is followed by *a*, what sound does the letter *c* represent?
> In the word *sufficient*, when the letter *c* is followed by *i* and another vowel, what sound does the letter *c* represent?
> In the word *nature*, when the letter *t* is followed by *u* in an unaccented syllable, what sound does the letter *t* represent?
> In the word *nation*, when the letter *t* is followed by *i* and another vowel, what sound does the letter *t* represent?

These and similar questions led the students to

1. hear different sound segments in spite of the spelling;
2. relate different sound segments to different patterns of spelling;
3. use the third person, singular, present tense pattern repeatedly.

In other words, this kind of lesson gave the students ear training, spelling drill, and pattern practice at the same time.

One difficulty that the students had in spelling and pronunciation stemmed from their diffidence in handling long words. When they learned to count the number of syllables in a word and to handle one syllable at a time, recognizing the stressed syllable and the sound sequence in each syllable, they began to spell and pronounce words with more confidence and fewer errors.

Many spelling errors came as a result of mispronunciation and poor enunciation habits. To improve the students' pronunciation, methods of articulation involving various parts of the speech apparatus were explained whenever necessary. The articulatory difference between /d/ and /ð/, as in *dis* and *dat* vs. *this* and *that*, the difference between /n/ and /ŋ/, as in *sin* vs. *sing*, were explained and practiced. Isolated instances of mispronunciation, such as *ask*, which some students pronounced as *ax; picture*, which some students pronounced as *pitcher;* and words like *stretch* and *street*, which some students pronounce *scretch* and *screet*, received due attention whenever they occurred. This difficulty with the consonant clusters, I believe, also caused students to drop the grammatical endings in many words such as *consists, months, helped,* and *talked*. In this case, pronunciation practice was used for pattern practice as well. The past tense pattern, for example, was practiced in two steps. The first step concentrated on verbs in which the *ed* ending constituted an extra syllable, while the second step dealt with the *ed* ending which made up a consonant cluster. The entire emphasis in dealing with speech sounds, however, was on the training of sense perceptions, auditory, visual (in relating spelling to sound), and kinesthetic, rather than on a systematic description of English phonetics or phonemics.

Regarding sentence structure, students' attention was directed not only to intonation patterns, which signify structural units, together with proper punctuation, but also to the three basic sentence patterns of a statement in English. In Pattern I, the subject and the transitive verb are followed by the object. In Pattern II, the subject and the linking verb are followed by the subject complement, and Pattern III consists of subject and intransitive verb without an object or a subject complement. After the students were given a brief explanation of each pattern, they were asked to give examples to illustrate that sentence pattern. Thus they created many sentences of their own not only to demonstrate their understanding of a grammatical pattern but also to do oral practice in that pattern. By restricting the verb to the present tense or past tense, or by restricting the subject or object to a plural noun or a pronoun, the students practiced many verb patterns and noun or pronoun forms first orally, later in written form.

The basic sentence patterns were then extended by compounding the sentence units or by adding modifiers. Sentences with a compound subject or verb, or both, furnished further examples for practice in subject verb agreement, and the use of the prepositional phrase as modifier provided another opportunity for the practice of pronoun case forms.

Practice in transforming a statement into a question, or a positive statement into one with a negative verb, or a statement in the active voice to one in the passive voice, was extremely important for the students because each transformation involved the use of a different verb phrase. This kind of practice was helpful to the students not only in establishing standard usage but also in grasping the relationships of the structural units in a sentence.

In the meantime, some paragraphs were selected from time to time from the reading anthology for oral reading, simple analysis of sentence structure, and dictation. When reading aloud, students practiced not only pronunciation, but also proper phrasing and intonation. In dictation drills, the instructor first read an entire sentence, or an independent clause in a compound sentence, and the students repeated in unison after her. This was done as often as needed until the students could recite the sentence or clause smoothly and without difficulty. Only then were they permitted to put the sentence or clause into written form. This kind of repetition was in fact good pattern practice when the paragraph was dominated by a certain grammatical pattern. With the dictation behind, repetition actually became more purposeful and more challenging.

Besides passages from the reading anthology, some short poems by contemporary American writers and some Biblical verses from the *New English Bible* provided interesting and useful oral practice and dictation because such material repeated a few patterns over and over again. Topics for written composition were also chosen with some specific patterns in mind.

All this, however, does not mean that individual practice in the language laboratory need not be used. When a student is aware of the significance of speech sounds and intonation patterns, when his ears are tuned to the difference between dialectal and standard usages, and when he has a simple but clear understanding of the structural patterns of Standard English, then individual practice in the language laboratory may be the last straw which will eventually break the hold of the local dialect.

Even though the project was officially concluded in June 1964, we have not yet completed the statistical work that will show the final results. Tentatively, I would venture the following conclusions:

1. Pattern practice, used properly, can provide an answer to the dialect problem. It can be more effective, however, if the dialect problem is taken care of below the college level.
2. The language laboratory is very helpful in improving speech production provided that the student is ready to do independent, unsupervised, practice work. One important phase of this readiness is that the student must become keenly aware of the difference between standard and dialect usages.
3. An integrated program in which practicing Standard English is used as a vehicle for transmitting knowledge is best for young people who expect more intellectual stimulation. The establishment of language control and habits is a long, laborious, and slow process. Pattern practice is less trying when imbedded in the learning of pronunciation, spelling, dictation, or grammar, and it generally yields quicker and more tangible results.
4. Our experiment has succeeded most in increasing the students' awareness of their language problems and in giving them the self-confidence and learning techniques necessary for further growth.
5. We have helped the students considerably in establishing control in the use of standard patterns, but this control is in delicate balance and can be easily upset by any emotional disturbance. We believe that this control will become firm in the course of time when the students will eventually shift more and more from the local dialect to the use of Standard English outside the classroom.

In conclusion, language is a form of social behavior, and no language teacher who attempts to change the student's language patterns should lose sight of the social and psychological implications of the task. I am sincerely glad that the trend in solving dialect problems in our schools and colleges today, as exemplified by the present conference, is toward an interdisciplinary approach. I believe the English teacher should draw on the resources of not only the linguists, but also the psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists and bring them to bear on language teaching. If understanding and an enlightened attitude are indispensable to solving the dialect problem, they can best be taught by examples, not by words.

CHANGING DIALECTS BY USING TAPES

RUTH I. GOLDEN

In a government based on the concept that the individual is important and that the power flows upward from the people, the need for education, that we may share a common level of language and culture, is becoming more and more apparent. Mobility is a part of our culture, and with mobility comes a leveling of dialects and a need for language learning to gain rapport in the new speech community; the spoken language is the basis of socialization and culture.

Speech and culture go hand in hand. If we are to raise the level of culture of those who have been victims of cultural lag, we must quicken our efforts in teaching. We must find new and more directly helpful ways to change language patterns.

Detroit is a city which has both contributed to the mobility of the nation and felt the effects of that mobility. As a teacher of high school English there, I have become keenly aware of the language needs of migrant students and have attempted to do something about them.

Within the past ten years, approximately 200,000 Negroes have come to Detroit in search of economic and social betterment. A great many, particularly those of low socioeconomic level, bring patterns of speech that differ noticeably from the standard pattern of the area. The migrants depend upon the schools to make any necessary changes in their language and socialization to make them employable. Detroit is not alone in this regard. Because of widespread in-migration by whites and non-whites, speech improvement has become a major urban educational problem.

The problem is a general one, and the means for change could be equally effective in changing any speech pattern. However, if my remarks seem pointed to any specific dialect, it is simply because for the past twenty years I have been concerned with that particular problem in Detroit schools.

The dialect used by a great many of our students, particularly those of low socioeconomic level who are migrants, children, or grandchildren of migrants, contains pronunciation differences such as the constant substitution of the low front vowel /æ/ for /aI/, merging *rat* with *right* as in the old spelling story, "Teacher, do you mean *mousy rat* or *all rat?*" Another frequent pronunciation difference is the substitution of /f/ or /th/ as in *bofe* for *both*, /I/ for /ɛ/ in *penny*, the omission of the /l/ in *help* to sound like *he'p yo'se'f*, and the reversal of the /s/ and /k/ in *asked*. Vocabulary differences include words such as *onliest* and *unlessen*, *carry* for *take*, *chunk* for *throw*, and the very frequent use of *fixin' to*. Most noticeable are the grammatical differences, particularly in verb forms. The past tense signal *-ed* is habitually omitted and there are frequent examples of lack of agreement between subject and verb as in *he have*, *they is*, and *she do*.

While these differences might go unnoticed in some rural section, they bring negative reactions when heard by employers in Detroit. If our schools are to help these students to adjust to the new environment and to enjoy social and economic betterment, we are going to have to give them special language training. In many cases, to maintain rapport with the home, the student will need to learn Standard English virtually as a second language. This is no easy task, and we must be aware of the tremendous burden upon the child.

Although there is no one method that is best for anything, and there is no mechanical device that will ever replace an understanding and stimulating teacher, I have found the tape recorder most effective for meeting the problem of changing dialects.

To understand how I arrived at the use of tapes for changing dialects, let us review the speech process. As talking animals, we learn to communicate verbally through entering various stages of development from crying to babbling to lallation (the first ear-voice reflex), on to the stage of echolalia where we echo, or imitate, the sound patterns we hear about us. As Donald Lloyd says, "We learn to speak at our mother's knee and at other low joints."

It is in this latter state, the echolalia, that the special sound pattern of the child's native language becomes established. As he goes on into articulate utterance, it becomes more refined and fixed so that by the time he is about six years old, the habits that will form his adult speech pattern are already set. To reeducate and build new habits, we must take him back to the stage of lallation, sharpen his ear-voice reflex, and carry him on through echolalia, giving him good standard forms to imitate. It is on this premise that the language laboratories for teaching foreign languages have been so successful in our schools.

A year of independent study as a Ford Fellow led me to the conclusion that English teachers should make greater use of foreign language teaching techniques. Part of that study included a questionnaire given to eleventh and twelfth grade students in six Detroit high schools. The study showed that the items on the selected list of 102 nonstandard usages, which the students were free to check or not to check, were both heard and used at least four times more frequently by students in schools representing non-Detroit regional speech patterns than by students in schools representative of Detroit speech.

The developing and testing of English lessons on tape geared to meet this problem was underwritten by the Office of Education in a two-year grant under the National Defense Education Act of 1958. The experiment was conducted at Central High School, Detroit, and evaluated by the analysis of covariance technique using a five factor grid. There were two control and two experimental sections, randomly selected. Two teachers, each teaching one control and one experimental class, morning and afternoon, participated in the experiment. The classes followed a three-group plan with the groups rotating their activities of speaking, reading, and writing during the three middle days of the week, while still carrying on other language arts units. Both the experimental and the control groups followed the same plan except that the speaking groups in the experimental sections had the listening-and-repeating lessons by tape while the control groups read the same material from scripts. They could read aloud if they wished, but they did not hear the taped examples to imitate. In the rotating group plan, there were two self-conducting groups (one reading silently from paperback books and one being taught by tape), enabling the teachers to give individual attention in the writing group. This plan was described in an article in the September 1962 issue of the *English Journal.*

The machine-computed results of the experiment were based on two oral and two written tests given before and after the taped lessons. The oral tests were taped autobiographical speeches and business interviews. Disinterested speech correctionists, who didn't know which tapes were which, tallied the number of deviations within one minute of speaking time.

The Experimental Group which used the tapes did almost twice as well overall as did the Control Group, and the factor of Group, representing the difference betwen the aural-oral technique over reading, was significant at the .01 level for the extempore speech and at the .05 level for the business interview. There were no significant interrelationships among the findings when applied to the written tests, and we concluded one semester was too short a time for results to carry over significantly in writing.

The tapes, one fifteen-minute introductory, motivational tape, and thirteen half hour listening and repeating lessons, explain the structure of the language in a simple manner. In preparing the tapes, care was taken that they:

1) Present all the major structures of the language.
2) Use newer linguistic concepts while retaining some of the old terminology.
3) Progress from simple to complex.
4) Give repetitive practice for habit formation.
5) Use many different techniques for pupil participation to hold interest. (Tests have shown that 14½ minutes is the average length of attention span for straight listening.)
6) Incorporate some writing, spelling, and punctuation to integrate language skills as well as to help hold attention.
7) Attempt frequently to keep the student motivated toward self-improvement.
8) Focus on repetition of sounds, words, and usages most needed to help students develop good Standard English patterns.

9) Include B. F. Skinner's theories as used in programed learning, mainly through giving immediate reward in answers to quizzes.
10) Contain a brief assignment and a summary of each lesson. (The assignment serves to give the teacher a check on the listening, and the summary keeps students aware of what they are being taught.)

Voices were chosen that were rich and pleasing, both male and female, and representing a variety of regional, racial, and national backgrounds to illustrate the point that good speech is a learned activity. Taping was done at a professional studio on high quality equipment. Although the tapes were designed to be heard through earphones to give each child the feeling that he is being individually instructed, they seem to be effective when played as an open lesson for an entire class to hear and to repeat in unison.

Lest I become overly enthusiastic, I must remind myself and you that we can't hope to wipe out a nonprestige dialect in a generation or two even if this were our aim. However, using the method I have described, we can help the student who wishes to help himself to become more socially mobile in his use of language. We can first help him to become aware of the need for change by becoming a more critical and discerning listener; we can give him good examples to imitate and to practice while trying on the new speech patterns; and we can encourage his efforts at self-improvement.

Standard English will represent the dialect of self-improvment as the student emerges from his own speech community into participation in the affairs of the larger world around him, for a human being wants most of all to be recognized as an individual, to be accepted, and to be approved.

DISCUSSION

Juanita Williamson, LeMoyne College
Lee A. Pederson, University of Minnesota
William A. Stewart, Center for Applied Linguistics
John Gumperz, University of California
Robert Green, Michigan State University

The papers by Golden and Lin were discussed together. There were three general areas of comment: the question of whether we should eliminate substandard speech or add the dimension of a new dialect to the speaker's original dialect, the matter of linguistic snobbery, and our obligation to educate the masses about the validity of other dialects.

The participants continued to be divided on the question of what teachers should do about a substandard dialect. Some favored elimination of those features which hamper upward social mobility; others argued that such features could well be retained but used only in socially appropriate contexts after a standard dialect is learned.

Stewart warned that making children language conscious, helpful though it may be in many ways, carries with it the danger of transforming learners into snobs.

Green reacted strongly against the idea that the non-Negro masses of the population in our large urban areas should be educated to understand the extant Negro dialects. He felt that we simply cannot wait for this sort of transformation.

THE TWENTY BILLION DOLLAR MISUNDERSTANDING

THOMAS J. CRESWELL

In the work from which I have cribbed the title of this paper, *The One Hundred Dollar Misunderstanding,* Robert Gover demonstrates the great differences between the world seen by middle class eyes and the world seen and lived in by those who have been culturally deprived. He does this by the disarmingly simple technique of reporting the events of a rather lurid weekend from the point of view of, and in a literary version of the language of, James Cartwright Holland, a white college sophomore whose father is chairman of his town's obscenity board, and then reporting the same events, in interspersed chapters, from the point of view of, and in what purports to be the language of, Kitten, a fourteen-year-old Negro prostitute. What emerges is a striking picture of the wildly differing views of reality and structures of aspiration of the two characters. The $100 misunderstanding between Kitten and JC is, in microcosm, a model of the much larger twenty billion dollar misunderstanding which has up to now frustrated most efforts to solve the language problem in education. Twenty billion dollars is roughly what is spent annually on education in this country.

In Gover's novel, each of the characters operates under a set of false assumptions about the desires, abilities, proclivities, and understandings of the other; because of deepseated differences in world views and in language, neither is able to communicate with the other. They part in the end, both of them bruised and hurt by their shared experience—and neither much the wiser for it. This is, essentially, what it seems to me has been happening in our educational encounter with children who use a variety of language which is demonstrably socially limiting. We meet, spend some years together in what we fondly believe to be a common endeavor, then part—and neither we nor the children are much the wiser for it.

Our twenty billion dollar misunderstanding is related to, indeed, it seems to me, based on differences in social dialect and associated versions of reality on the part of educators and students. The magnitude and diversity of the problems associated with dialect differences in large city school systems are presently almost overwhelming. In Chicago, for example, there are over 250,000 Negro and "other"—meaning non-white—children in a total school population, elementary and secondary, of some 535,000. By far the largest part of these 250,000 children suffer to some degree from the limitations inherent in having a language which differs from the "standard" or "approved" dialect of a society dominated by white middle class standards, which dialect is the matrix for the language of the schools.

Now it is quite clear that most classroom teachers of such children regularly make efforts toward "improving" the language of their pupils. It is equally clear that these efforts, far from producing the desired effect, instead produce, in a large number of the pupils concerned, a dislike and distrust of school experiences in general; in many pupils this dislike culminates in dropping out of school at the earliest possible opportunity. Even when, by some chance, such undesirable side effects are avoided in individual cases, and the students persist in trying to obtain an education, the methods employed by well-meaning and devoted teachers still do not work, for such students often achieve only marginal success, and their major limitation is lack of facility with school language.

The failure of most current efforts to change language behavior in children who use socially and educationally limited dialects arises out of a kind of ignorance which is deeply embedded in long-held school attitudes toward language. The failure arises from ignorance concerning the nature of language as a phenomenon, ignorance of the true nature and significance of dialect differences, ignorance of human attitudes toward language, ignorance of the ways in which humans most easily and naturally learn language and varieties of language, and several other kinds of ignorance. All this ignorance is coupled, unfortunately, with a conviction of knowledge. Most teachers and most authors of texts and instructional materials in language firmly believe that they *do* know, that they *do* understand, that they see the problem clearly, and that they have the answer to it. It is this conviction which produces our twenty billion dollar misunderstanding.

Almost all teachers believe both that they recognize the differences between such students' "natural" language and the kind of standard language which is believed to be desirable, and that they understand how to teach the standard dialect to their students. When their methods fail, as they most often do, they ascribe the failure to their students' laziness, or lack of background, or lack of motivation, or poor home training—to anything but to the methods and the assumptions upon which they are built. The fact of the matter is that differences in dialect and differences in variety of language are far more complex than the training of most teachers has led them to suspect. In addition, human beings, their attitudes toward language, and their mastery of language are far more complex than most methods of instruction assume.

Let us look for a moment at the complexity of language as a human attribute. The facts of dialect difference are infinitely too complex to be susceptible of presentation in a simple linear scale which divides a language into three, or five, or even fifteen types—be the types regional, social, situational, historical, or whatever. It is, of course, the recognition of this fact that lies at the root of the much decried decrease in the number of usage labels attached to words in the Merriam-Webster *Third International.* The editors have found that it is simply not possible to make an accurate, unexceptionable statement about the appropriateness of most items in the lexicon unless a great deal is known about the speaker or writer, the audience, the social situation, the total context, the purpose of the utterance, and so on. It is even more difficult to make such statements about most aspects of phonology or syntax. Only about a few matters of morphology can easy generalizations be more or less safely made.

An examination of the multidimensional view of usage presented by Martin Joos in *The Five Clocks (International Journal of American Linguistics,* Part V, Vol. 28, No. 2, April 1962) will suggest the complexity of the question of appropriateness of language. He provides four scales or axes of variation:

Age	*Style*	*Breadth*	*Responsibility*
senile	frozen	genteel	best
mature	formal	puristic	better
teenage	consultative	standard	good
child	casual	provincial	fair
baby	intimate	popular	bad

As Joos points out, none of these scales operates independently of the others, and the fact that the scales are linear is not to be taken as meaning that position on the scale indicates relative value. Now it seems to me quite obvious that some of the cruces we discuss under the heading of social dialect differences are related in one way or another to each of these scales. Although in practice there is, for instance, probably no such phenomenon as frozen or formal baby talk, there quite clearly is child talk which can be appropriately labeled popular, or provincial, or standard, and, to narrow it somewhat, provincial child talk which is either good or fair on the responsibility scale and which is either intimate, or casual, or consultative on the style scale. Thus we can have provincial, consultative, good, child talk. If this elaboration seems confusing, it is because language and its effects are complex, not simple.

A further sort of complexity arises from another clearly demonstrable fact, a demonstration of which is contained in H. A. Gleason, Jr.'s *Linguistics and English Grammar* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965), p. 366. To take a single example, on the age scale, what is called teenage talk really has at least two dimensions of characterization, one which is relative—relative to child and mature talk in the current generation—and one which is more or less absolute—peculiar to teenagers of today as opposed to teenagers of twenty years ago. The use of such an all-purpose word as "cool" would be an example of the latter. The point I wish to make and not further belabor is that a thoughtful analysis of Joos's scales indicates that even the scales, multidimensional as they are, embody far more complexity than at first meets the eye.

Now the point of all this stress on complexity is not to suggest that language is so complex that nothing can be done about it. To the contrary, it is to suggest that much more than is being done can be done, and done better, if this multidimensionality is kept clearly in mind. Much of the schools' failure to be effective arises out of simplistic assessments of what are really very complicated matters. We must urge and continue to seek support for more and more carefully controlled studies of social dialect differences such as Labov's studies of postvocalic *r* in Nantucket and in New York's Lower East Side and Pederson's analysis of the speech of Negroes living in Chicago. At the same time, we should be seeking for and creatively planning ways of using with maximum effectiveness such information as we now have about socially critical aspects of language.

One of the fundamental problems to be faced in using such information effectively is presented by the human condition itself. Some remarks by Ralph Ellison made at a conference studying the plight of the lower 30 percent which was held under the auspices of Educational Services, Inc., in September 1963 make the essential point quite clearly. In speaking of the attitude of teachers of deprived Negro children, Ellison said the following:

> One uses the language which helps to preserve one's life, which helps to make one feel at peace in the world, and which screens out the greatest amount of chaos. *All* human beings do this. And if you have one body of people that have been sewn together by a common experience . . . and you plant this people in a highly pressurized situation, and if they survive, they're surviving with all of those motivations and with all of the basic ingenuity which any group develops in order to remain alive.

Again,

> . . . within the bounds of their rich oral culture they possess a great virtuosity with the music, the poetry, of words. The question is, how can you get this skill into the mainstream of the language, because it is, without a doubt, there.

And finally and most importantly, speaking for such children,

> If you can show me how I can cling to that which is real to me, while teaching me a way into the larger society, then I will not only drop my defenses and my hostility, but I will sing your praises and I will help you to make the desert bear fruit.

Ellison's remarks make two most important points: (1) human beings cling to the language which makes it possible for them to control chaos and to survive in the situations in which they find themselves; (2) the way to teach new forms or varieties or patterns of language is not to attempt to eliminate the old forms but to build upon them while at the same time valuing them in a way which is consonant with the desire for dignity which is in each of us.

This need, the need to use rather than to attack the language which the child finds vital to his everyday life, leads to the question of technique. An inductive technique based upon contrasts seems to me to characterize much "natural" language learning. The contrast technique is an essential tool of modern language study. We seek minimal pairs to establish phonemes, morphemes, and other linguistic phenomena. Apparently, all humans who are linguistically versatile (and all humans are surprisingly so) use precisely the same techniques in adding to the number of varieties of language which they can control, as well as in adding to the number of different social roles they can play. They compare their own patterns with those of a group to which they want to belong, isolate the differences, and adopt the patterns of the sought-for group. Instruction can be based upon just such a procedure, *with the pupils identifying and establishing the differences.*

Now that I have pursued perhaps longer than necessary two tacks which might not at first glance seem relative to the purpose of this session, I should like to indicate how it is that they seem to me to be relevant. In the schools, there is a mountain of ignorance about language and language learning, and that mountain is based firmly in conviction and tradition. Obviously, an important immediate task is to blow up or cut down or erode away the mountain. This means that, before substantial headway can be made in school systems at large, we must dispel or reduce in some way the ignorance of substantial numbers of school administrators and teachers. But school systems and teachers resist change. I would not consider, for instance, a typical urban school system as the ideal milieu in which to work at developing a new attack on problems of social dialect differences. Although the school systems have the students, they are typically not willing to devote the time, the money, and the personnel necessary for the terribly hard work of developing new and promising approaches.

There is a way, though, and it has already been mapped out. The PSSC program which has revolutionized the teaching of physics in high school, a new and fascinating way of teaching mathematics, and ventures into the curricula in elementary school science and social studies have been developed by a unique research and development organization, Educational Services, Inc. That group's basic pattern of attack is one which, in the first stages, bypasses the schools. Administrative, personnel, and budget problems in most school systems render it simply impossible to do any really thorough educational research and planning. School systems are interested, and perhaps rightly so, in short term goals.

ESI secures funds, brings together scholars who will take an interest in the problems of the schools, and teachers familiar with the operation of schools and with children, and lets them work out in some form a plan of attack on a given body of subject matter. Only then does it attempt to gain access to the schools. Each approach is tried, tested, rejected if it doesn't prove out, analyzed, refined. This done, materials are prepared—texts, teaching manuals, hardware if necessary—whatever is needed. Then and only then are attempts made to introduce the program devised into large numbers of schools. Foundation funds are secured to provide for missionary work and for visitation and consultation. The basis for urging such an approach is that it has succeeded in establishing educational innovations in a way in which no other has. What I am suggesting, then, is that schools and school systems be considered at first only as laboratories for the development of programs already designed. The designing of programs should not begin in the schools themselves. The ignorance of which I have been speaking is much too firmly entrenched to allow much hope that a direct, first-stage approach to most school systems can produce anything in the way of basic changes in language instruction.

A second point concerns the kinds of programs to be attempted. No matter how linguistically sound, I think no approach has a chance of being successful if it is not also humanly sound, if it does not build upon what those we are trying to teach already have and can do. The schools themselves in their current failure significantly to change dialect patterns provide sufficient warning of the built-in certainty of failure of approaches which are not, in the sense I have indicated, humanly sound. The kind of approach to the teaching of Standard English which probably has, in this context, the greatest chance of success is that kind which consciously attempts to add to rather than replace the language already used by the child. Probably any method which has surface plausibility will work to some degree, provided those being taught will endure it; what is most important is to design a method which is endurable. This means to me a method which consciously stresses difference, not superiority or inferiority of one dialect as opposed to another. Most teachers insist on stressing superiority, not difference. For this, among other reasons, they fail to bring about language changes. This indicates a great need for the education of teachers now in the schools as well as those preparing to teach.

If the two kinds of programs I have suggested—one conducted under independent, non-school-system auspices and aimed at developing and sharpening techniques for increasing linguistic versatility, and the other carried on actively in school systems and in colleges and universities everywhere and aimed at re-educating those presently teaching at all levels, as well as those preparing to teach, about the nature and complexity of dialect differences and about the human factors involved in language change—if these two kinds of program can be conducted simultaneously, perhaps within a few years we can begin to make real progress in teaching users of low prestige dialects to also use Standard English with skill. Then and only then will the experience of education cease to be a senseless annual repetition of the twenty billion dollar misunderstanding.

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IV.

Social Factors in Learning Standard English

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STAGES IN THE ACQUISITION OF STANDARD ENGLISH

WILLIAM LABOV

1. INTRODUCTION: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF URBAN LANGUAGE PROBLEMS FOR LINGUISTS

It is frequently said that children learn to speak the English language long before they learn to read and write it, and in its most obvious sense this statement can hardly be disputed. It is evident that the six-year-old child has mastered the greatest part of the machinery of spoken English. Yet there are many stages in the learning of spoken English which cannot be reached until much later in life, and there are skills in the speaking of English which the grade school child knows nothing about. In the following discussion, I would like to present evidence for the existence of such stages in the acquisition of Standard English, and show how this is related to the educational process in the schoolroom. Most of the data will be drawn from a study of the New York City speech community, and primarily from a survey of the Lower East Side of New York completed this year.[1]

This work is part of a continuing interest on my own part, as a linguist, in the study of speech in its community context. One of the major questions that remain unsolved for linguists is the mechanism by which languages evolve and change, and the process that has led to the great diversity of languages in the world today. Part of the answer can be found by a close examination of contemporary changes that are taking place in the speech community. The case of New York City has a special interest, because of the usually high degree of fluctuation in speech forms that has been reported. Previous investigators had written of extensive variation that was "thoroughly haphazard," and "the product of pure chance."[2] Our studies of the variable elements in New York City speech have shown that this is far from the case: that the use of these language variants is determined by a pattern of social and stylistic norms. We find that there is a continuous and measurable influence of social factors upon language change. We also find, in the course of this work, a series of challenging questions which have immediate application to the problems of education: Why is it that young people, who are exposed to the Standard English of their teachers for ten or twelve years, still cannot use this form of speech no matter how badly they need it? Why is it, Negro parents ask me, that young Negro people who are raised in the North, or northern parents, speak like southerners?

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[1] The most complete report of this work is given in "The Social Stratification of English in New York City," Columbia University dissertation, 1964. The use of quantitative indexes is discussed in some detail in "Phonological Correlates of Social Stratification," in Gumperz and Hymes (eds.), *The Ethnography of Communication*, appearing as the December 1964 issue of the *American Anthropologist*. One aspect of linguistic change of special interest for the problem of school dialects is presented in "Hypercorrection by the Lower Middle Class as a Factor in Linguistic Change," in the proceedings of the UCLA Conference on Sociolinguistics, Los Angeles, 1964.

The answers to these questions do not lie in the study of conscious choice. Most of the factors that influence speech performance lie well below the level of conscious awareness. It is therefore possible for us to use the evidence of speech variation in overt behavior to infer the deeper, underlying processes which must be understood if we are to solve the urgent problems of the urban schools. To present the evidence clearly, it will first be necessary to discuss the methods used to study the sociolinguistic structure of the New York City speech community.

2. Methods for the Study of Urban Dialects

a. *Sampling the population.* In studying the urban dialects of the eastern United States, we are quite fortunate in being able to build upon the results of the Linguistic Atlas, which employed the highly systematic methods of dialect geography to study regional variation in the speech patterns of the most stable sections of the population. Kurath further refined and sharpened the methodology of European dialect geographers, and the American Atlas provides a reliable base for our present investigations of urban speech communities. It shows us the traditional regional pattern and allows us to recognize the intrusion of other regional features into the community.[3]

A simple approach to the study of urban speech communities would be to apply the methods of dialectology to social strata and attempt to isolate the characteristic speech forms of class groups, ethnic groups, and racial groups. Such an approach would not be adequate, for a number of reasons. Dialectology begins with the laying out of a geometric grid that divides the area to be investigated into sectors; the field worker finds one or more informants within each sector of the grid. An informant must have certain specific characteristics—his age, his education, and his history of residence are important—but within a particular subgroup he is only one of many. It is assumed, for example, that the subgroup of old, uneducated, local residents is reasonably homogeneous. The choice of this typical informant must be dictated partly by convenience, partly by the informant's working habits and his willingness to talk for several days.

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[2] Cf. A. F. Hubbell, *The Pronunciation of English in New York City* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1950), p. 48.

[3] H. Kurath, *Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England* (Providence: American Council of Learned Societies, 1939). In the study of New York City, various publications based on the Atlas materials were valuable sources of background data, particularly Y. Frank, "The Speech of New York City" (University of Michigan dissertation, 1948), and H. Kurath, *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1949).

The method works well for several reasons: (1) the important variable is specified in advance as geographic location, and there is no doubt about that; (2) if any characteristics of the informant make him atypical, his eccentricity will show up clearly on the finished maps, for dialect maps are self-confirming; the important regional markers appear as areas of solid agreement, and atypical cases stand out as isolated dots in a large area of uniformity; (3) in dialect geography, we are usually investigating separate speech communities which have little contact with each other, and contamination by direct contact is low.

In studying a complex urban area, these favorable factors are not present. We do not know the significant variables in advance, and there is far more contact within the different segments of the population. We cannot pick out a typical informant by chance or convenience and *then* describe his social characteristics. Instead, we must plan in advance to describe a specific population and then select a representative group from that population. One of the basic approaches to this problem is that of survey methodology. A set of informants is randomly drawn from an exhaustively enumerated portion of the community, and then considerable effort is made to interview every one of these informants. The more inconvenient it is to speak to an informant, the more effort is made to contact him. At the end, there always remains a small group that has refused the interview or eluded the field workers. This group must be sampled in turn by a more intensive approach, to determine whether or not it differs in any important aspect of speech behavior from the main body of informants.[4]

In New York City, this method was carried out for the 100,000 residents of the Lower East Side by utilizing a sample already constructed for a sociological survey.[3] We thus gained all of the rigor of the survey approach, with the data on the social characteristics of the informants, so that we could concentrate entirely upon their linguistic behavior.

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[4] Methods for sampling refusals are discussed in "The Social Stratification of English in New York City," cited above, Appendix D. There are many ways of surveying a population, and the most accurate means are undoubtedly those based upon the procedures of survey methodology. Supplementary surveys of special cross sections, however, can be carried out much more quickly and can provide a great deal of useful information. A rapid survey of one characteristic of department store employees is discussed in Chapter III of the reference cited above, which tested the general hypothesis that any groups of New Yorkers who show socioeconomic stratification will also be stratified by their use of (r).

b. *The isolation of contextual styles.* The dialect geographer attempts to isolate the regionally significant variables in the speech of his informants, and these are usually consistent for any one informant. The method of dialectology is therefore not overly concerned with the problem of style: the interviewer is usually quite skilled in putting the subject at ease, and he uses his own judgment in discarding replies that seem to be overly careful. But in urban studies, many of the significant variables are not constant in the speech of the informants; they vary continuously over the full range of possibilities. Furthermore, the informant is not necessarily an eager and congenial respondent: he may be pressed for time, suspicious, or only half willing in his response, and the field worker cannot expect complete success in creating the same informal atmosphere for each interview. Different class groups have different conceptions of the appropriate style of speech for an interview. In our interviews, we assumed that informants would normally use a style of speech that they, consciously or unconsciously, considered appropriate for the interview situation. We defined this style as careful speech. We made no attempt to judge from our own immediate impressions whether this was careful or casual: we assumed that the speaker had another style, a *more* casual style, that he used with his family or friends when the interviewer was not present.

The problems produced by wide changing variability and by the appropriateness of careful speech in an interview were the problems that previous studies of New York City could not solve. We set about finding ways to isolate, elicit and define the most casual style of the speaker, within the framework of the interview. The interview itself was constructed about several topics which were designed to elicit casual or spontaneous speech. One of these was a discussion of childhood rhymes and folklore. We found, for example, that careful speech could not be used by the informant when he repeated such rhymes as:

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[3] This sample was constructed by Mobilization for Youth's research staff after an exhaustive enumeration of all of the residents of the area. They selected 1,250 informants and completed interviews with 988. The linguistic survey, conducted two years later, was concerned with the 450 adult native speakers of English in the MFY sample. Thirty percent of these had moved from the area; of the remainder, 195 were randomly selected as the target sample for the linguistic survey. A total of 81 percent, or 157 informants were interviewed by the methods described. The data given here are based on 81 informants interviewed at length who were born and raised in New York City. [The comparable analysis for those who were raised outside of New York City allows us to distinguish those patterns which are peculiar to the city itself.] It should be noted that the pattern of social and stylistic stratification given here is so regular that it appears in subsections of the sample as small as 25 informants. Linguistic behavior, as measured here, is far more regular than most other forms of social behavior. It can be stated with considerable certainty that such relatively small samples are adequate for many forms of linguistic research if the informants are selected in a systematic manner and the biases of selection are minimized.

Glory, glory, hallelujah
The teacher hit me with a ruler,
The ruler turned red
And the teacher fell dead
And that was the end of her.[6]

Another topic which was effective in overcoming the constraints of careful speech was the "danger of death." The informant was asked, at a particular point in the interview sequence, if he had ever been in a situation where he was in serious danger of being killed. If the informant had such an experience to retell, he usually became involved in the emotional tension of the situation as he recalled it, and he no longer concentrated on the task of maintaining careful speech patterns.

In these two situations and three others, we found that casual or spontaneous speech was likely to occur. The actual occurrence of this style was defined by the presence of at least one of five "channel cues": changes in tempo, volume, pitch, breathing, or laughter. If any one of these cues was present in one of the five situations designated, we measured the linguistic variables of that utterance under the heading of "casual speech." Then, in the more formal direction, we added a series of contexts in which more and more attention was paid to speech: the reading of a text, the pronunciation of isolated words, and the comparison of minimal pairs of words that differed only by the variable in question.

c. *The phonological variables.* Five chief phonological variables were measured throughout the various styles and various social groups in the New York City population. One of these was the form of the first consonant of *thing, three, thought,* etc. Sometimes New Yorkers say [θɪŋ], with a fricative consonant; sometimes they use a stop consonant [tɪŋ] and sometimes a combination of the two, an affricate as in [tθɪŋ]. The prestige form, as elsewhere in the United States, is the fricative form, [θɪŋ]. In our analysis of the tape recorded interviews, every single occurrence of this variable was counted—not only those in stressed, short replies—and from this count a quantitative index was constructed. If a person always said [θɪŋ], his index score would be (th)-00. If he always used stops, as in [tɪŋ], his score would be (th)-200. In practice, no native speaker uses only stops: scores varied from 00 to a high of 150. A typical performance for one informant, a white collar worker, would be:

	Casual speech	*Careful speech*	*Reading style*	*Word lists*
(th)-	35	20	05	00

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[6] Note that *hallelujah* and *ruler* rhyme; this is perfectly regular in the [r]-less pattern of casual speech, but in the careful speech of many New Yorkers, *ruler* will be pronounced [rʊlɚ] and the two words will not rhyme at all. In casual speech, we also find that the final word *her* may be pronounced as [hʌ], with considerably greater effect than the careful style, [hɚ].

A working man, of Italian background, would typically show the same pattern of declining index scores with increasing formality, but at a higher level:

105 75 35 25

A college educated professional might show only a trace of the nonstandard form and follow the same pattern at a lower level:

19 15 00 00

When the values for all of the informants in the survey are calculated and averaged, the regular pattern of Figure 1 is obtained. Here the horizontal axis represents the range of contextual styles, and the vertical axis the range of (th) index scores. The immediate interest here is in the relation between socioeconomic stratification and the use of (th), so the average index scores for a number of socioeconomic subdivisions of the population are plotted and connected along straight lines. The socioeconomic ratings are based upon an objective index which is the combination of three indicators: the occupation of the informant, his education, and the income of his family in relation to its size.[7] The ten point scale for this index is broken up into subgroups which are named informally in Figure 1. The result is a regular pattern of stylistic and social stratification, in which the two lower groups, "working class" and lower class" informants, show a much higher degree of nonstandard forms than the "middle class" groups.

There are two aspects to this regular pattern. On the one hand, we see regular social stratification at every level of stylistic performance. From the middle class standpoint, the stigmatized form [tɪŋ] is a marker of lower class and working class speech. Although the middle class speaker uses a small percentage of stigmatized forms himself, he is not aware of this fact. From his point of view, socioeconomic differentiation is the most obvious kind of regularity. Yet the opposing aspect is equally striking in an examination of Figure 1. Almost all New Yorkers behave in the same way in their regular transition from a greater to a lesser use of stigmatized forms with increasing formality of context. The other variables studied reveal this same duality of stratification in the speech community.

d. *The subjective evaluation of linguistic variables.* The preceding discussion has shown that New Yorkers generally agree in their social evaluation of (th), if we are to judge by their regular shift of style towards the standard fricative form. A few individuals, mostly from the lower class, do not show this shift: they are "outside" the pattern, and they will be a group of particular interest to us in studying the problems of teaching Standard English. But first we would like to penetrate more deeply into the question of subjective evaluation. Is there

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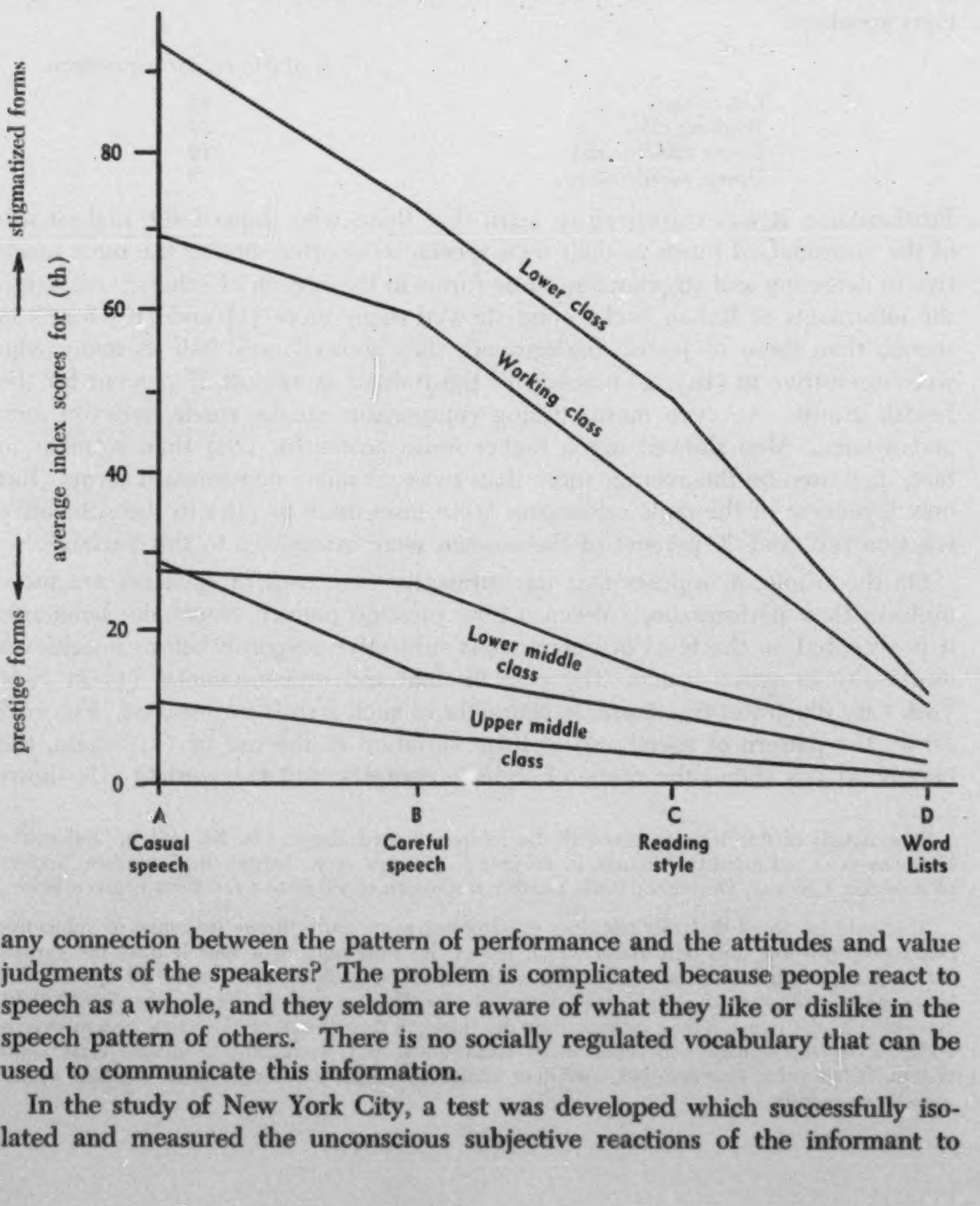
[7] For details on this index, see "The Social Stratification of English in New York City," Ch. VII.

Figure 1

Class stratification of (th): the initial consonant of *thing, through, three,* etc.



any connection between the pattern of performance and the attitudes and value judgments of the speakers? The problem is complicated because people react to speech as a whole, and they seldom are aware of what they like or dislike in the speech pattern of others. There is no socially regulated vocabulary that can be used to communicate this information.

In the study of New York City, a test was developed which successfully isolated and measured the unconscious subjective reactions of the informant to individual variables in the speech of others.[8] The uniform nature of these reactions was surprising. Although New Yorkers vary widely in their use of (th), most of them can detect low prestige variants of this feature in the speech of others and downgrade the speaker who uses the nonstandard forms. For example, the proportion of informants who showed the ability to detect and stigmatize nonstandard (th) forms in the subjective response test was 82 percent. The greatest concentration of those who were insensitive to (th) was among lower class speakers.

	% of (th)-insensitive subjects
Lower class	42
Working class	24
Lower middle class	19
Upper middle class	8

Furthermore, it was surprising to learn that those who showed the highest use of the nonstandard forms in their own speech were often among the most sensitive in detecting and stigmatizing these forms in the speech of others.[9] Although the informants of Italian background showed many more [t] and [tθ] forms in speech than those of Jewish background, they showed only half as many who were insensitive to (th): 14 percent for the Italians as against 27 percent for the Jewish group. An even more striking comparison can be made between men and women. Men showed much higher index scores for (th) than women: in fact, they used on the average more than twice as many nonstandard forms. But only 9 percent of the male informants were insensitive to (th) in the subjective reaction test, and 30 percent of the women were insensitive to this variable.

On the whole, it appears that the subjective responses of speakers are more uniform than performance. When a new prestige pattern enters the language, it is accepted on the level of unconscious subjective response before it achieves uniformity in actual usage. The case of final and preconsonantal (r) in New York City illustrates the dramatic character of such a shift in response. Figure 2 shows the pattern of social and stylistic variation in the use of (r); again, the horizontal axis shows the range of stylistic contexts, and the vertical axis shows the average index scores for the new prestige feature (r).[10] It is evident that all classes agree, from their pattern of shifting, that the pronunciation of a constricted [r] in words like *guard, car, board,* etc., is appropriate for more formal contexts. On the other hand, only upper middle class speakers show any degree of [r]-pronunciation in casual speech; in everyday life, the great majority of New Yorkers are [r]-less. In Figure 3, we can study the development of [r]-pronunciation in casual speech by age groups. For those over forty years old, there is no significant social stratification in the use of (r). All class groups show a low level. But for those under forty, we see that upper middle class speakers use a quite high degree of constricted (r) in their casual speech, and all other classes are absolutely [r]-less. Thus in terms of objective performance, we do not see an increase in the use of [r] so much as an increase in stratification of this variable.[11]

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[8] The details of this test are given in the reference cited above, Ch. XI, and in "Subjective Dimensions of a Linguistic Change in Progress," a paper given before the Linguistic Society of America, Chicago, December 1963. Further discussion of subjective reactions is given below.

[9] It should be noted that this test does not attempt to measure the entire range of subjective evaluations possible, but only those which reflect the suitability of a speech form for various levels in the occupational hierarchy. The subject marked each of the samples of speech that he heard according to the highest of seven job classifications which the speaker could hold, "speaking as she does." These ratings show the subject's recognition of the value system overtly endorsed by the schools and other social institutions: it is essentially a middle class value system. Other value systems exist, and their analysis is important for an understanding of the speech community.

Figure 4 shows the percentages of those whose subjective response is consistent with the recognition of [r] as a prestige form. The older groups, those over forty years old, show a level of (r)-sensitivity which is close to chance expectation. But the younger group, those under forty, are absolutely uniform in their response: 100 percent agree in recognizing the prestige status of [r].

Thus we see that subjective response outruns performance in the process of linguistic change. Variations in the structure of the speech community are to be seen most clearly as variations in subjective evaluation, rather than fluctuations in performance.

In addition to the subjective response test, a *self-evaluation test* was used in which the informant was asked to choose one of several pronunciations as the form that he actually employed most often. The answers to these questions had no relation to performance, but they did reflect the pattern of evaluative norms that the informants had already given us in their shifts of style and in their subjective response tests. At least as far as sound patterns are concerned, the speaker hears himself as speaking the norm that he considers correct.

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[10] In the notation used here, parentheses enclose a *linguistic variable,* while brackets indicate, as usual, a phonetic transcription. The variable (r) is the percentage of plainly constricted phones in all of the words where historical [and orthographic] *r* appears in final and preconsonontal position. The word classes in which *r* follows a mid central vowel—*her, were, bird, work,* etc.—are not included, as these form separate indexes. Where the following word begins with a vowel, as in *four o'clock,* the occurrence of *r* is noted as an example of intervocalic, not final position.

[11] The evidence of the department store survey, noted above, confirmed the findings of the survey of the Lower East Side in this respect. The distribution of (r) among department store employees by age levels showed no overall increase if the three stores were taken together; we did find an increase in stratification, for the differences between the stores were by far the greatest for the youngest employees.

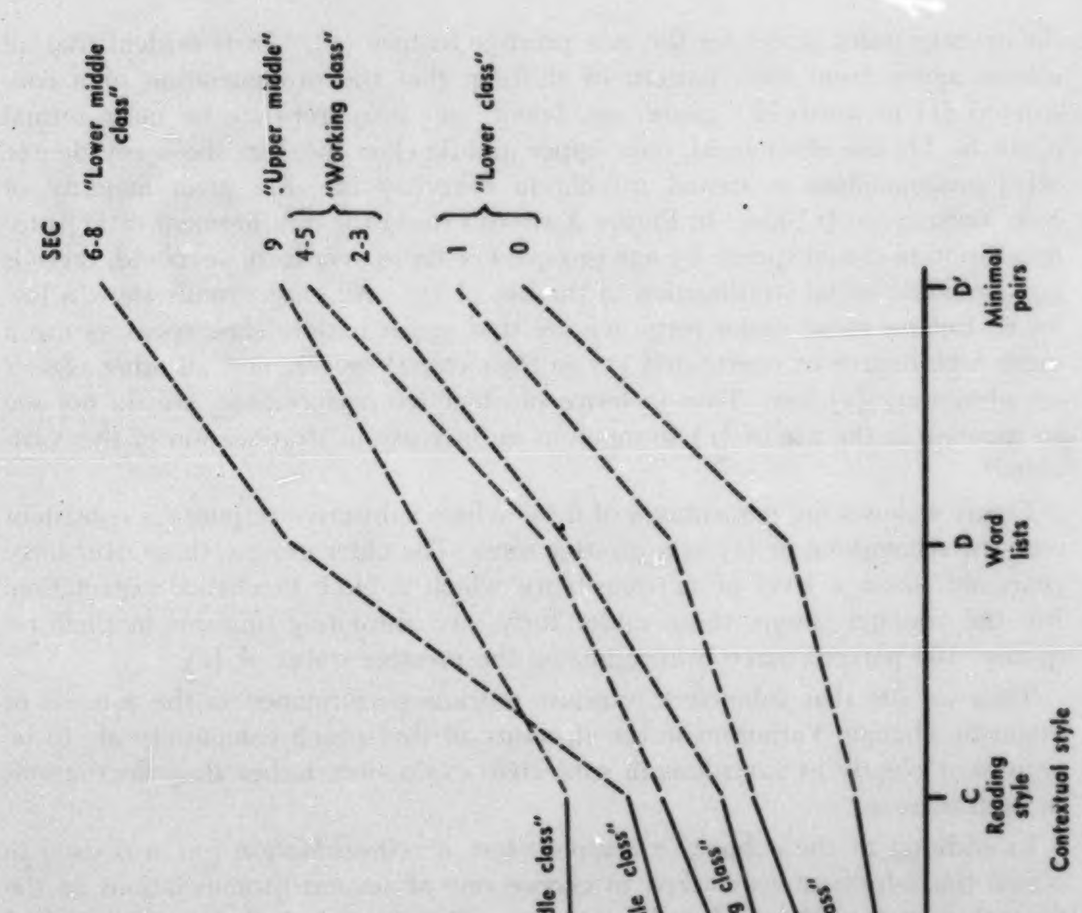
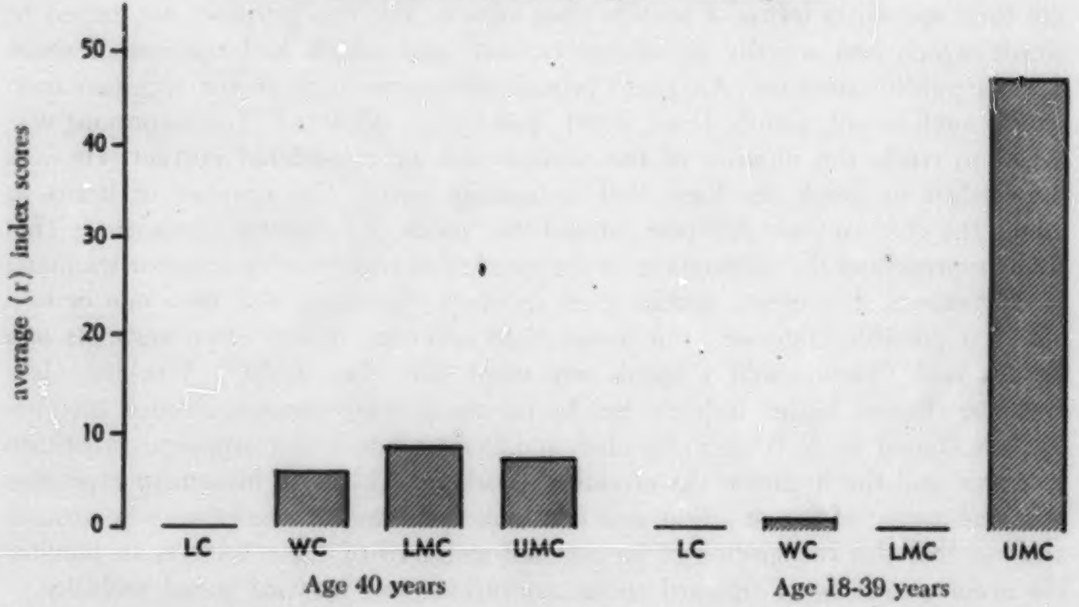


Figure 2

Class stratification of (r) in *guard, car, beer, beard,* etc.

Figure 3

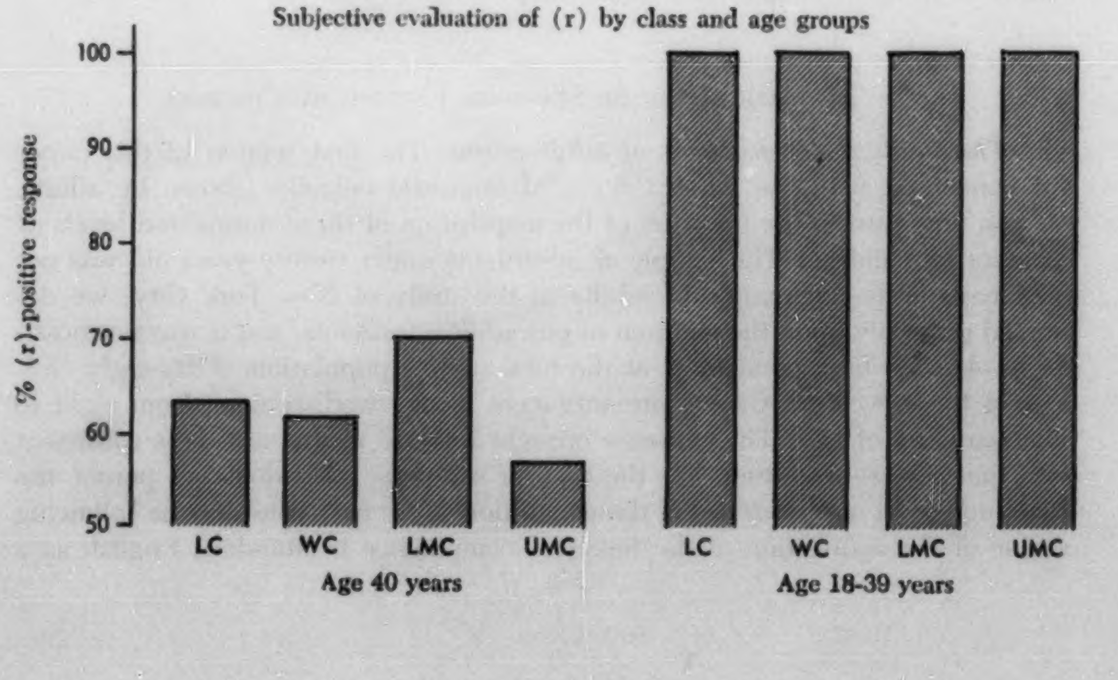
Class stratification of (r) by age in casual speech



LC: "Lower class," SEC groups 0-1
WC: "Working class," SEC groups 2-5
LMC: "Lower middle class," SEC groups 6-8
UMC: "Upper middle class," SEC group 9

Figure 4

Subjective evaluation of (r) by class and age groups



We were interested in exploring further the speakers' feelings of security or insecurity about their own speech: that is their anxiety or motivation for improving their speech in terms of middle class values. For this purpose, we turned to words which had socially significant variants and which had received a great deal of public attention. Alternate pronunciations were given for eighteen such words, such as ant, [ænt], [lɛnθ, lɛŋθ], [ɛskəletɚ, ɛskjʊletɚ]. The informant was asked to circle the number of the variant that he considered correct. He was then asked to check the form that he usually used. The number of items in which the choices were different formed the "index of linguistic insecurity." This index represented the willingness of the speaker to recognize an exterior standard of correctness. For upper middle class speakers, the index was low: one or two out of a possible eighteen. For lower class speakers, it was often zero: as one person said, "How could I speak any other way than I do?" Working class speakers showed higher indexes, but by far the greatest amount of such insecurity was shown by lower middle class speakers: white collar workers, substitute teachers, and the higher ranks of skilled workers. The term *insecurity* expresses only one aspect of the situation; one can look at the matter the other way around and say that this recognition of an external standard of correctness is an inevitable accompaniment of upward social aspirations and upward social mobility.

Through the various means described here, we succeeded in penetrating deeper into the structure of linguistic behavior than earlier studies of urban speech had done. We would now be inclined to define a speech community as a group of people who share a set of common norms in regard to language, rather than as a group of people who speak in the same way.

3. THE ACQUISITION OF STANDARD ENGLISH BY CHILDREN

a. *The gradual development of adult norms.* The first section of this paper was concerned with the various types of linguistic behavior shown by adults. We can now turn to the question of the acquisition of these norms and levels of behavior by children. The sample of informants under twenty years old was not as systematic as the sample of adults in the study of New York City; we depended primarily upon the children of our adult informants, and it was not possible to obtain a high percentage of the total sample population. Fifty-eight children of the New York City informants were interviewed, ranging from eight to nineteen years of age. The evidence brought forward in this section is consistent with that of the preceding, but the type of sampling used does not permit the same high level of confidence in the conclusions. We may consider the following outline of the acquisition of the levels of competence in Standard English as a series of tentative statements to be confirmed by further study in the New York City area.[12]

First of all, we may look at the overall performance of young people in all of the measures outlined above: their use of the linguistic variables in the various contextual styles, their subjective response tests, and their self-evaluation tests. The overall percentage of cases in which they follow the predominating pattern of the adult community climbs gradually as they approach adult status:

Age	*% conformity with adult norms*
8-11	52
12-13	50
14-15	57
16-17	62
18-19	64
(20-39	84)

We can view this process of acculturation most clearly if we examine families with more than one informant below the age of twenty. The table given above reflects a rather uneven distribution of informants in the various age groups; but if we take brothers and sisters within the same family, we can minimize fluctuations due to factors other than age. Figure 5 shows the percentage of agreement with adult norms shown by members of twenty-eight families. Here the horizontal axis represents the age of the informants, and the vertical axis the percentage of agreement. Points representing members of the same family are connected along straight lines.

Figure 5 shows graphically the process of acculturation which is often described in less specific terms. The linguistic indicators give us a precise measure of the extent to which the young person has grasped the norms of behavior which govern the adult community. It can be seen that some families begin this process relatively high in the continuum: middle class families are to be found near the top of the diagram, together with a few working class families. Some working class families, and all of the lower class families, are to be seen operating at a much lower level of conformity to adult norms. Despite this great variation in

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[12] The data given in this paper as a whole apply primarily to New York City. There is reason to think that the behavior of the Lower East Side informants is characteristic of linguistic behavior within the city as a whole, and that regional differences within New York are minor. Several supplementary studies have given essentially the same results as the survey of the Lower East Side. On the other hand, it has been possible to show in great detail how New York City informants differ from those who were raised outside of the city. The two variables discussed here, (th) and (r), are the ones which are most general in their application, and which are essentially the same for the New York and non-New York informants. The principles of sociolinguistic organization illustrated here are therefore more general than the limitation to New York City would imply.

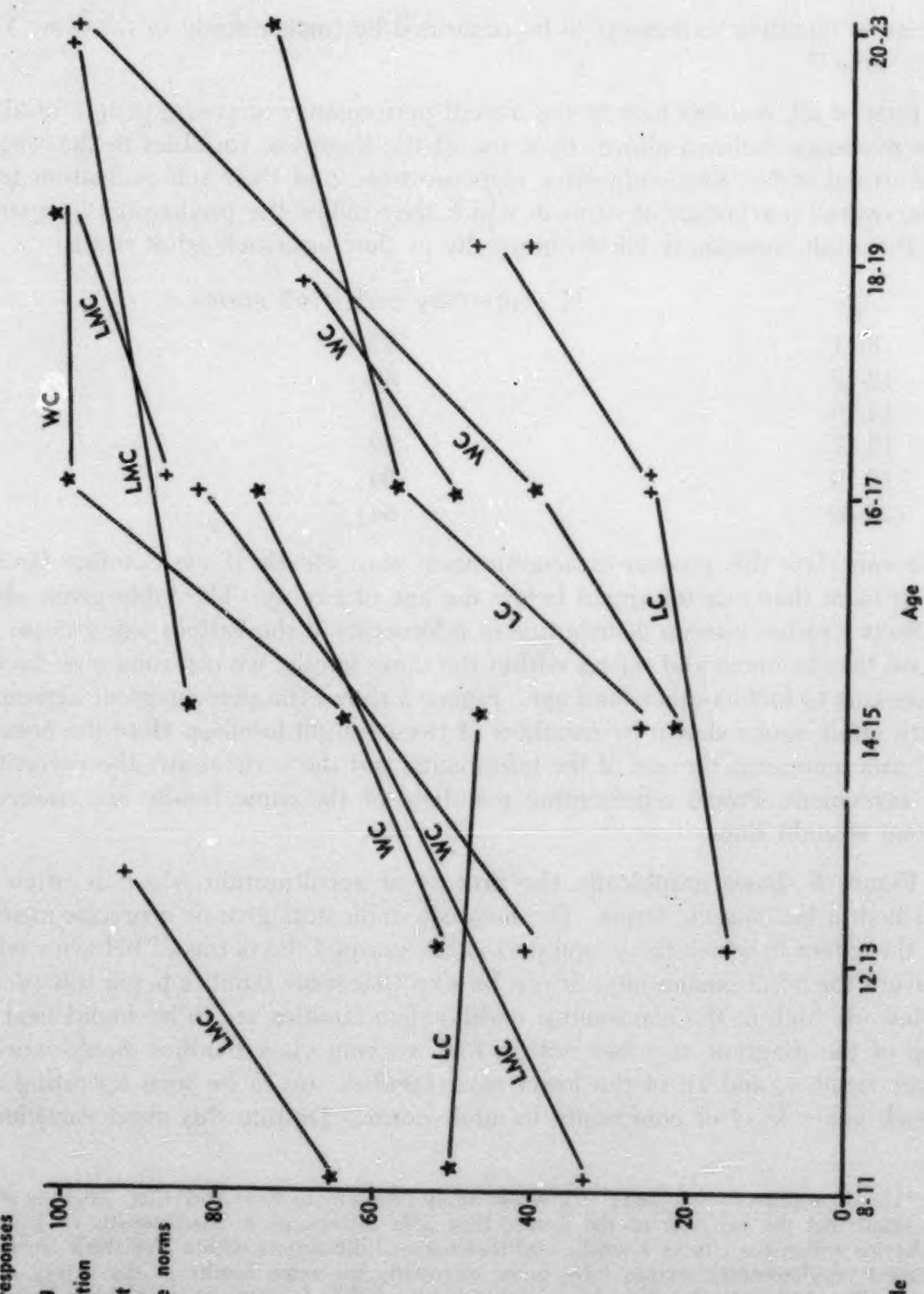

Figure 5
Acquisition of prestige norms in families with two or more children

relative position, we see that the slope of most of the lines is similar. Some working class and most lower class families are apparently too far removed from the middle class norms to assimilate them efficiently, and we can see that those youngsters who are below 50 percent at eighteen or nineteen years old will probably not reach any significant degree of conformity while they still have the learning ability to match performance to evaluation. At the ages of thirty-five or forty, these individuals may be able to evaluate the social significance of their own and other speech forms, without being able to shift their own performance. At the same time, there is also a correlation between those families that expressed the most hostility to middle class norms of social behavior, and those who appeared low on Figure 5. We can infer that there are other values operating to produce the differential of Figure 5, beyond mere differences in familiarity with middle class patterns.

b. *Levels in the acquisition of spoken English.* From some of the evidence discussed above, and from other details obtained in the interviews with young people, we can construct a model of six stages of the acquisition of the full range of spoken English.

1) *The basic grammar.* The first level is the mastery of the main body of grammatical rules and the lexicon of spoken English, in such a form that the child can communicate his basic needs and experiences to his parents. This stage is normally achieved under the linguistic influence of the parents—that is the case with all of our younger informants, who are at least third generation New Yorkers.

2) *The vernacular.* The second stage is the most important one from the point of view of the evolution of the language. In the preadolescent years, roughly ages five to twelve, the child learns the use of the local dialect in a form consistent with that of his immediate group of friends and associates. At this stage, neighborhood dialect characteristics become automatically established responses in the pattern of everyday speech, and the influence of the parents is submerged under the influence of the peer group. It is during this period that the child begins to learn to read in school.

3) *Social perception.* The third stage begins with early adolescence, as the child begins to come into wider contact with the adult world. The social significance of the dialect characteristics of his friends becomes gradually apparent to him as he becomes exposed to other speech forms, even while he himself is still confined to the single style of his own vernacular. At the age of fourteen or fifteen children begin to respond to the subjective reaction test with patterns that resemble the adult pattern.

4) *Stylistic variation.* In the next stage, the child begins to learn how to modify his speech in the direction of the prestige standard, in formal situations, or even to some extent in casual speech. The great turning point seems to be exposure to a group larger than the neighborhood group in the first year of high

school. In our sample, for instance, we find that the number of stops and affricates used for (th) differs greatly between those speakers who have never been to high school and those who have had at least one year.

5) *The consistent standard.* It is not enough to be able to use standard speech forms sporadically. The ability to maintain standard styles of speech for any length of time is often not acquired at all. At best, some New Yorkers may be able to add a few corrected forms to their speech patterns. The ability to switch to a consistent style of speech and maintain that style with reasonable consistency is acquired primarily by the middle class groups. In Figure 2, such consistency can be seen as a goal of the lower middle class group. The lower middle class line for (r) ranges from a very low position to the highest position, crossing over the upper middle class line in the two most formal styles of speech. This mobility of the lower middle class is apparently an important factor in the evolution of new and consistent styles of speech.[13]

6) *The full range.* Some speakers attain complete consistency, or something close to it, in range of styles appropriate for a wide range of occasions. Comparatively few New Yorkers attain this level of skill in speaking, and those who do are mostly college educated persons with special interest in speech. In the case of (th), quite a few of our subjects did use the fricative form all of the time. We also found that there were many subjects who did not depart at all from standard syntax and word morphology. This mastery of the prestige forms seemed to accompany a certain rigidity of linguistic style: few of these speakers seem to have retained the ability to switch "downwards" to their original vernacular. On the other hand, there was a continual shift in the percentage of (r) used, but not one of our informants who was raised in New York City had achieved complete consistency in the use of the prestige form.[14]

From this outline, it is plain that the relations between learning to speak and learning to read are not as simple as they have been sometimes said to be. The pattern of the vernacular is not fully formed when the child first learns to read, and there are many further steps in the mastery of spoken English which are still beyond his horizon. And success or failure in learning to read may have a strong effect upon the development of these other verbal skills.

By examining linguistic changes in progress, we have seen that the ability to perceive the social significance of dialect differences precedes the acquisition of consistent prestige styles in Standard English. For example, in the subjective evaluation of (r), we find that there is a sudden increase in the recognition of the prestige status of (r) for the group of sixteen-seventeen year olds. For eighteen-nineteen year olds, there is almost the same total agreement in the recognition of (r) as for the young adults, the twenty to thirty-nine year olds. At the same time, only the upper middle class speakers show any ability to use (r) in their everyday speech. Since the great majority of the members of the adult community agree in the evaluation of speech forms, why then do most New Yorkers fail to acquire levels (5) and (6) in the series sketched above?

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[13] See "Hypercorrection by the Lower Middle Class . . ." cited above.

[14] Throughout this paper, I have used the conception of stylistic levels which is most commonly employed in the discussion of social variation. However, this approach in the New York City speech community leads to a multiplication of structural devices that seems increasingly unrealistic as we gather more data. It is possible to view the sociolinguistic structure as a single complex, within which continuous variation occurs along the social and the stylistic dimension. Cf. "The Linguistic Variable as a Structural Unit," paper given before the Washington Linguistics Club, Washington, D.C., November 1964.

c. *Obstacles to the acquisition of standard English.* The regular patterns of social stratification in the use of linguistic variables reflect a balance of forces, rather than a simple, overall trend. On the one hand, the vernacular of the New York City speech community evolves in its own consistent pattern, following a mechanism that is not yet wholly understood. On the other hand, the New York City speech community has also maintained prestige patterns borrowed from other communities: from England, New England, or most recently, from (r)-pronouncing areas outside of the city. While almost everyone recognizes the middle class values inherent in this borrowed prestige pattern, there is a wide range of differences in the actualization of this pattern. We can consider the following bases for such a range of performance.

1) *Isolation.* It is possible that working class and lower class speakers are simply not as familiar with the prestige norms as middle class speakers—that they have less opportunity to hear the prestige dialect. At one time, this may have been an important factor, but it is clearly becoming less important with the development of the mass media. The great majority of prestige figures on radio and television in the New York City area use the prestige dialect consistently. Furthermore, the conditions of daily life in a large city permit a considerable amount of interaction between speakers of various levels.

2) *Structural interference.* It is also possible that there are mechanical constraints upon the linguistic performance of some speakers, proceeding from differences in the structure of their vernacular and the structure of the prestige pattern.

We can see in such interference in the case of a young New Yorker who enters the sixth grade speaking a vernacular in which *bad, bared,* and *beard* are completely homonymous, together with thousands of other words in these classes. If we add to this list the homonymy of *laud, lord,* and *lured; god* and *guard; dot* and *dart; pin* and *pen;* it is apparent that a great many new distinctions must be learned if the child is to master the Standard English spoken by the teacher.

In the case of the new population of in-migrants from the South who speak a nonstandard dialect, or in the case of the Puerto Rican group, such interference may be important. It is not as likely to be a strong factor in the speech of the main body of New Yorkers, who began to acquire early in life the pattern of stylistic shifting which carries them from their basic vernacular to the prestige forms.

Nevertheless, an important step in the study of any such system of social stratification is to attempt an analysis of the vernacular of each social group, showing the internal relations of the elements within each system. (See footnote 14.) This analysis will be essential for the understanding of linguistic change, and it will isolate the differences between systems which must be adjusted in the mastery of Standard English.

3) *Conflict of value systems.* It can easily be seen that any systematic differences between dialects of English in New York City are small in comparison with the similarities. One can hardly imagine a theory of mechanical constraints which could account for the dilemma proposed at the beginning of this paper: How is it that young people who are exposed to the Standard English of their teachers for twelve years cannot reproduce this style for twelve minutes in a job interview? The problem is parallel to the more serious question as to how a student can sit through eight to ten years of school without learning to read more than a few words. Those who feel that they can solve this problem by experimenting with the machinery of the learning process are measuring small causes against large effects. My own feeling is that the primary interference with the acquisition of Standard English stems from a conflict of value systems.

Language may be looked upon as a system for integrating values. Linguistics has made the most progress in analyzing the cognitive component; but many elements of language (certainly not all) are imbued with noncognitive values as well, and the total information conveyed in these noncognitive functions may outweigh the cognitive information. In our subjective reaction tests we have studied only those values which follow the middle class patterns: the suitability of a speech form for various occupations. But there are other values, values which support the use of the vernacular style of the working class, and the social stratification of language seen in Figures 1-5. There are many New Yorkers, for example, who feel no desire to be identified with middle class, white collar workers. They deliberately turn aside from white collar jobs in seeking lower skilled, lower paid manual work. Identification with the class of people that includes one's friends and family is a powerful factor in explaining linguistic behavior. Furthermore, I believe that we can establish that the working class style of casual speech has values strongly associated with masculinity. In the work now being carried on in Harlem and other parts of New York City, we plan to explore these value systems.

There are also negative factors in the conflict of value systems. The adolescent peer group exerts strong pressure against any deviation in the direction of middle class standards. This is a type of behavior that we would like to investigate in more detail; there is a great deal of anecdotal evidence of such pressure, but it consists mostly of recollections of striking incidents in the past. Evidence to the contrary—group approval of the verbal proficiency of a member—might not be so striking and therefore would not appear in anecdotal evidence. Therefore we need observations of group pressures upon language behavior as these pressures operate. If it is true that adolescent groups do not permit free experimentation with middle class language styles, and that they penalize members who try to put into practice the teaching of the schools,[15] then the practical problem of urban dialect engineering will have such group constraints as a major focus. It will be necessary to build into the community a tolerance for style shifting which is helpful in educational and occupational advancement.

Another negative factor undoubtedly exists in the conflict of values symbolized by the difference between the teachers' speech and the students. Although English teachers have been urged for many years to treat the nonstandard vernaculars as simply "different" from Standard English, it is clear that the prevailing attitude is that the students' vernacular is "bad English," "incorrect," and "sloppy" speech. It would be surprising if this were not so. The survey of New York City shows that such opinions of the teacher reflect an almost universal sentiment of the speech community.[16] The conflict is a covert one: both teacher and student may be only partly aware of the value systems which bring them into unyielding opposition.

Most teachers in the New York City system probably follow the pattern of group 6-8 in Figure 2 for a great many features of speech. In casual speech, they unconsciously use forms which they themselves stigmatize in the speech of others. When they pronounce words in isolation, they use an even higher percentage of prestige forms than those who use these forms naturally in casual speech. Their performance is governed by certain norms, and these norms are the sounds or images that they hear themselves use. Thus the teacher will frequently condemn students in strong, moralistic terms for the use of speech forms that she frequently uses herself without being aware of them. There are undoubtedly many nonstandard forms used by the students that the teacher does not use, but the essential fact is that the teacher has no more tolerance for style shift than the adolescent groups mentioned above. Neither teacher nor student is aware of the fact that they both follow the same pattern of style shifting in their language, though at different levels. The teacher struggles to impose a fixed standard, which she mistakenly believes she follows herself, upon youngsters who mistakenly believe that they also make no concession to the other side in daily life. In the data from the New York City survey, we see some evidence for the view that teachers may be transferring to the students their own inner conflicts; they recoil from a kind of behavior that is still very much a part of their own personalities. On the other hand, the student may rightfully feel that the teacher threatens him in trying to abolish completely the speech pattern that identifies him as a member of his own group: this is the group that he respects, that awards him prestige, that establishes his masculinity.

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[15] The current program for research in Harlem among teenage speakers is designed to obtain further evidence on this point. No one would deny that such tendencies exist; the question is, to what extent do they influence behavior? Only quantitative methods can answer such questions; after a certain point, anecdotal evidence only confuses the issue.

[16] Again, one should note that this agreement extends only to those attitudes which reflect the middle class value system.

These comments suggest that the conflict of values should be investigated in the classroom itself. The foregoing remarks are merely extrapolations from observations made in a community study, and they are based on the least favorable case, in which a male student faces a female teacher. But the view given here becomes somewhat more plausible when we consider the even more serious problem produced by the new polarization within the New York speech community.

4. OPPOSING VALUE SYSTEMS WITHIN THE NEW YORK CITY SPEECH COMMUNITY

The view of the speech community given so far is not complete. There are signs of a developing lower class group which is breaking away from the pattern shown in Figures 1 through 5, a group which has adopted other reference points and other values, and is drifting in a different direction from the main group.

Evidence for such a trend can be seen in some of the details of the phonological system. Whereas the traditional New York City system is continuing to evolve towards higher and higher in-gliding vowels in word groups such as *bad, ask, dance, where,* etc., and *off, talk, law,* etc., there is an opposing trend towards lower in-gliding vowels in these groups. Similarly, we find that the traditional New York City system shows a systematic backing of the first element in the diphthong of *my, side, why,* etc., while a separate trend exists towards the fronting of this element and the loss of the up-glide. These contrary directions are all the more striking when they are seen against a view of the overall structure of New York City speech.[17] The great majority of working class and middle class speakers follow the first direction mentioned, which continues the evolution which began in the nineteenth century. The second direction is characteristic of a sizeable group of Negro speakers, Puerto Ricans, and lower class white speakers who live in close contact with these other groups.

The differences in speech performance are matched by a new polarization of values developing in New York City. The old polarization of ethnic groups showed a number of equally balanced interest groups: Italians, Jews, Negroes, Irish, who determined the political character of the city as well as its informal social structure.[18] The newer pattern shows that a growing minority of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and lower class whites reject the value system implied by the dominant speech pattern and adopt a new reference point in which southern Negro speech is central.

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[17] See "The Social Stratification of English in New York City," cited above, Ch. XII.

[18] The ethnic composition of New York City is described in N. Glazer and D. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City* (Cambridge: M.I.T. and Harvard University Press, 1963).

This new development is best illustrated by considering the overt attitudes expressed by New Yorkers about speech itself. Most white New Yorkers do not like the sound of New York City speech. Almost all of our informants agree that they would be complimented if they were told that they did *not* sound like New Yorkers. As far back as we can go, the city's prestige patterns have always been borrowed from other regions. On the other hand, many white New Yorkers like the sound of white southern speech. The attitudes of most Negro informants are quite the reverse. They like almost any type of northern speech, and dislike southern speech intensely. Southern speech is considered "rough," "uneducated," "bad" speech. One excerpt from an interview with an older Negro informant in New York City will illustrate this value pattern vividly. Mr. Joseph McSorley was born and raised in New York City sixty years ago. He works as a guard at a YMCA building, and although he has had little formal education, he is a well-read, well-spoken man. In answer to the question on the danger of death, he told of an incident in which he was asked to investigate a report that someone had a gun in his room and had threatened some other tenant with it. In this narrative, Mr. McSorley used two very different voices: his own quiet, pleasant, and cultivated northern manner, and a rough, rapid style with many strongly southern characteristics and a tone of voice that was rasping and whining. The first style is indicated in regular type below—the second in capitals.

> I go up whistlin', let him know I'm comin', shakin' my keys, you know. "Hey, Bill! What are you doin?"
>
> "WHADA YOU WANT?"
>
> I said, "What are you doin'?"
>
> "I AIN'T DOIN' NUTTIN', JOE."
>
> I said, "Well, they claim a little disturbance up here, somebody says you chased them with something. What did you chase them with?"
>
> "OH JOE, I AIN'T GOIN' BOTHER 'EM. I WASN'T DOIN' NOTHIN'."
>
> I said, "Open the door, Bill. Let me look." So he opened the door and I went in there. He did have a gun. So I said, "You better get rid of that because down at the desk, they're calling for the police department."
>
> "I GOT A P'MIT FO' IT."
>
> I said, "You better show it to the cops when they come."
>
> "O.K. JOE, O.K."

The voice that Mr. McSorley usually used is not easily identified as that of a Negro by most listeners, but the second voice was plainly that of a southern Negro. At the end of the interview, I complimented Mr. McSorley on his ability to sound like two different people. He was quite mystified by my remark. He had no idea that he had used any voice other than his usual one; yet his niece, who had been listening, agreed that he had done so, and she told him that he had sounded "just like a southern Negro." Finally I asked Mr. McSorley what sort of a man Bill was—what was his background. "I don't know," said Mr. McSorley, "some kind of a Hungarian, I think."

In this incident we see a process of unconscious substitution taking place in accordance with the value system of the speaker. The man Mr. McSorley was imitating used a speech pattern that was evidently rough and uneducated, but unfamiliar in detail to him. In representing this style, he automatically and unconsciously substituted the only rough uneducated low prestige dialect with which he was intimately familiar—that of nonstandard southern Negro English.

Mr. McSorley is typical of the many Negro New Yorkers who are puzzled by the recent trend towards southern speech among the young people he knows. He finds it hard to understand why people would go out of their way to talk in a rough, uneducated way. In actual fact, this polarization of linguistic values about a new norm is a sign of a cultural split in New York City which goes beyond language. We find that even lower class whites who live in apparent hostility with Negroes have unconsciously adopted the Negro delinquent youth as a reference group for their own behavior.[19] This trend is dramatically evident in a section of another interview from the Lower East Side survey. The subjects were six brothers, from thirteen to nineteen years old, from an Irish-Italian family that would be rated on most indicators near the lower end of the socioeconomic scale. In their social attitudes and aspirations most of the Riley brothers show overt hostility to middle class values. The most vocal is the second oldest, Jimmy Riley, the natural joker and storyteller of the group. At eighteen, he had resisted all of the schools' efforts to teach him white collar skills, and more or less decided to become a longshoreman, like his father. In his account of a situation in which he was in danger of being killed, he told of being attacked by a group of Negroes. In the course of the narrative, he drifted into a style of speech which is remarkably like that of the Negro boys who are his immediate enemies:

> I went ice skatin' in Jersey—Hoboken. Came back two o'clock in the mornin'. Whole bunch of guys went—I come back, everybody says, "I'm hongry, I'm hongry." I say, "I'll be right back."
>
> I go next door for a pizza. I come out, and there's five big niggers standin' there. They say, "Gimme that!" I say, "Give you *wot*." Yerrr whop! I went down. They kicked me, everything. Boom!
>
> I got up, 'n' ran in the house, 'n' grabbed a steak knife and chased them. A guy jumped into his car and chased them. Spanish guy named Rickey, he took out a bread knife, ran down the subway, and scared an old lady silly. Thought he was gonna kill her.
>
> Bright cop comes over—cullud [ˈkʌlʌd] cop. "Wha' happened?" I say, "Five of your bright people jumped me." He says, "What were dey?" I say, "Yeah, they were colored." He says, "Den they—they ain't my people." I said, "You cullud." H says, "They ain't my people." I say, "O.K., g'bye, f'get everyt'ing. Went t'the hospital."

Again, this stylistic behavior proved to be quite unconscious. When one of Jimmy Riley's own brothers told him that he sounded like a nigger himself when he was telling the story, he was quite surprised. Yet he had quoted himself saying "You cullud," a form of predication without the copula which is highly characteristic of Negro speech as opposed to other vernacular speech forms.

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[19] "Reference group" is used here in the technical sense introduced by Herbert Hyman in *The Psychology of Status*, 1942, and utilized by Robert Merton in *Social Theory and Social Structure* in 1949. When an individual or a group adopts the values of some other group outside of their own network of social contacts, that other group is said to serve as a reference group for them.

In the case of Jimmy Riley, we see a constellation of factors that seems to lead to low educational achievement, lack of occupational skills, and unemployment. His speech patterns are sensitive indicators of these trends. It is not likely that any change in the methods of teaching English will be powerful enough to cope with problems such as these. I think, however, that we must be aware of these problems, because they reflect social processes that will continue to operate to produce similar results in the future. No amount of research into the mechanism of language learning will remove these larger social forces from the scene. The polarization of linguistic behavior serves as an excellent indicator of the social processes that are occurring, but these indicators do not give us any immediate program for corrective action, or even for amelioration. The linguist is essentially an analyst, not an educator; it would seem that his goal in attacking the problems of the urban schools is to give the educators information with which they can build programs and check the results of their efforts.

5. Some Directions for Research on Urban School Problems

a. *Describing the structure of nonstandard English.* The first task of the linguist in any community is a descriptive one. There is little to say about educational problems, or motivation, or interference, until one can give an account of the linguistic behavior of the native speakers of the particular speech community in question. From the evidence brought forward in the present conference, we know that there are striking similarities in the linguistic problems that have arisen in many different cities across the United States. Nevertheless, we can take nothing for granted in approaching the language of Detroit, or Wilmington, or Newark: the following suggestions will outline several lines of research which will give us the data we need on actual linguistic behavior.

1) *Isolating the chief variables.* It is necessary to have a clear idea of what features are constant in the speech of a given area and which tend to fluctuate. Wherever social forces interact with linguistic behavior, we find variation, and this variation is usually the focal point of social values. The traditional method has been to record the mistakes that children make in the classroom; certainly this is important, and it should be done. The teachers in any and all parts of the school system can help the linguist by giving him a quantitative tabulation of the grammatical and lexical errors that children make in their written and oral work. To interpret these errors, it is of course necessary to give an exact account of the form of Standard English from which they deviate and also to show which deviations are not considered errors but are tolerated as acceptable variation. For this latter task, the educator may need direct help from the linguist in the classroom, as he observes the type of Standard English used by the teacher and administrators of the school.

A more systematic approach to the isolation of the variables can be followed by the linguist in his exploratory interviews and observations in the community. From this work, he can begin to divide variables into two types: those which show *social variation*, but are essentially constant in the speech of any one person, and those which also show *stylistic variation*, shifting in occurrence or frequency from one style or context to another.

2) *Structural descriptions.* The next step is undertaken by the linguist. He must attempt to organize the constant and variable factors in the speech of the community, or any subsection of the community, into a structural description. As we know, a complete structural description is hardly possible, since it has never been accomplished for any variety of English. The linguist therefore concentrates upon certain areas of language which he knows are most tightly organized, such as the phonological system, or the system of verbal auxiliaries, and pays particular attention to those areas that are marked by the greatest variation.

A structural description of this type serves three chief purposes: (a) It enables the linguist to locate other variables in the system which have not been noticed before. At alternate and opposite points in the structure, it is not uncommon to find parallel variation; furthermore, pressure from variation at one point frequently produces shifts or mergers with neighboring elements; (b) The structural analysis frequently explains one form of linguistic behavior as a structural consequence of other forms. Several isolated examples of differences between Standard and nonstandard English may actually be instances of a single difference in the operation of a more general rule; (c) The structural description may show that forms which are superficially identical with Standard English (or with other forms within the same system) are actually different in syntactic or semantic value. In a highly organized system, the value of each term is based upon its relation with all other terms, so that a different organization or inventory of terms will affect the meaning of all the terms. We find such underlying differences frequently in pronoun systems, or in the tense and modal systems of the verb.

3) *Social and stylistic distribution.* The distribution of the variables throughout the speech community must be studied in order to assess the social significance of the different forms and systems that have been isolated. Some of the methods used and the purposes of such a description are outlined in this paper. It is not always necessary to construct a random sample of all of the individuals in the speech community. More rapid samples can be made by various methods, in the school system and through other institutions.[20] The greater the degree of social and stylistic variation, the more necessary to avoid the bias of *con-*

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[20] In a recent study in the Phoenix Union Central High School of Phoenix, Arizona, it was possible to obtain a great deal of information about the sociolinguistic structures of Phoenix in a few days, by interviewing classes of students as a whole. Of the many favorable circumstances, not least was the cooperative and helpful attitude of the school administration.

venience in selecting informants, and to avoid the bias produced by approaching informants through formal institutions such as the school. For this work, the linguist can draw upon other social scientists for assistance, and whenever possible, he should couple his study with other social surveys so as to devote the maximum energy to the study of language itself. One of the great advantages of a representative survey of linguistic behavior is that it allows us to study change. Through the distribution of linguistic forms through various age levels in the population, we can infer the existence of linguistic and social change; even more valuable information eventually can be derived by repeating the study at a later time. If, on the other hand, we remain content with an impressionistic account of a particular dialect derived from the study of a few "typical" informants, we will have no means of measuring these observations against any later research.

4) *The influence of other languages.* In many areas of the United States, we must consider the effect of languages other than English upon the linguistic behavior of particular ethnic groups and perhaps upon the entire population. For this purpose, it is necessary to provide formal descriptions of the particular dialect of the foreign language which is used, and of the English used by the second and third generation members of that ethnic group, and then to chart the possible relations between these.[21] While the main task of this description falls upon the linguist, the teacher can help greatly by making separate reports of the errors made by students with the foreign language background in question and giving some estimate of the relative difficulty encountered in changing these patterns.

b. *The social significance of nonstandard English.* Information on the social distribution of speech forms tells us a great deal about social significance, but it is possible to make a more direct attack upon this question. In order to make intelligent decisions about which forms of language require correction or suppletion with alternate forms, we have to know which markers of linguistic behavior have serious effects upon the life chances of the individual. In different areas, we might find the same nonstandard forms, but with radically different social significance. For example, one can hear stops and affricates used for /θ/ and /ð/ in the Southwest, but there this feature does not seem to have the same strong social impact as in Chicago or New York.

The methods required to measure subjective evaluation are complex, and they are not generally available to linguists or educators. The school system can, however, provide information on the ability of students to perceive the differences between standard and nonstandard variants. The ability of the student to hear the difference between two forms consistently is closely correlated with their social significance.[22]

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[21] The lines of research to be followed here have been laid out in some detail by Uriel Weinreich in *Languages in Contact* (New York: Linguistic Circle of New York, 1953).

The information on subjective evaluation can be used to classify linguistic variables into three basic categories:

indicators, which show social variation but usually not stylistic variation, and have little effect upon the listener's judgment of the social status of the speaker

markers, which show both social and stylistic variation, and have consistent effects upon the conscious or unconscious judgment of the speaker's status by the listener

stereotypes, which are the overt topics of social comment in the speech community, and may or may not correspond to actual linguistic behavior.

It is evident that most of the attention of the educators will be concentrated upon the markers and upon systems which contain a great many markers. Thus we may find that there are regular characteristics of Negro speakers which are indicators, but do not function as markers, and there would be little justification for including these elements as "errors," "mistakes," or deviations from Standard English.

The study of subjective evaluation must be carried out in many different communities if we are to resolve questions raised concerning the cultivated regional varieties used in the South. If indeed there are many students who enter northern school systems using such varieties, it is important to discover how the northern speech community evaluates them. As far as the children's vernacular is concerned, we have every reason to think that pressure from their friends and associates will lead to the adoption of the local forms. Whether or not the school should take any position at all on the status of cultivated southern speech probably depends more upon the frequency of such cases than any other factor.

c. *The acquisition of Standard English.* This topic has been the principal concern of the present paper, and some of the tentative findings have been outlined on the basis of the New York City study. Future research programs would necessarily be concerned with testing preliminary notions on all of the aspects of language acquisition for many communities. One important focus of such research would be this question: given a regular pattern of social and stylistic stratification, how can one give lower class children the same wide range of stylistic variation that is open to middle class children? It would seem that there are two main types of solutions: early training which permits lower class children to enter the acquisition route (Figure 5) at a higher point than they normally would, or special training which increases the normal rate of acquisition of Standard English.

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[22] In a study of 53 delinquent youths at New York City's Youth House, carried out in the summer of 1964, we obtained information on the speaker's ability to perceive a series of phonological contrasts. The contention that native speakers can hear phonemic distinctions much better than nonphonemic distinctions was not borne out by the evidence. Instead, one might say that the ability to perceive distinctions is determined largely by the social significance of the distinction to the listener.

d. *Resistance to the acquisition of Standard English.* The three areas of research outlined above are only preliminary to the major question of analyzing the reasons why those who are exposed to Standard English, and who need the ability to use Standard English, do not learn this form of the language. We can point to four major aspects of this question, recapitulating in part the discussion of *2c* above.

1) *Structural interference.* The results of research under section *a* above can be applied to the analysis of interference between the underlying vernacular and the standard language as it is taught in the schools. Teaching methods which focus upon the contrastive points of interference can then be formulated.

2) *Opposing motivations.* Although it has been shown that most New Yorkers endorse the value of Standard English, we have also seen that there must exist opposing motivations which must be made explicit in further research. Furthermore, it is necessary to find the particular variables upon which these opposing value systems are focused. All variables may not bear equal weight in this respect.

3) *Resistance in the peer group.* Small group studies are required to show in detail the means by which the adolescent and preadolescent group behavior interferes with the acquisition of second dialects.

4) *Teacher-student interaction.* Studies in the classroom are needed to investigate the type of adjustment in language behavior which the teacher makes to the vernacular of the students and which the students make to the normal style of the teacher. It is possible that teachers who show a wider range of stylistic performance in their own speech have greater (or lesser) effectiveness in persuading students to accept a form of Standard English. Research of this type would require close cooperation between educators and linguists. While linguists may provide indexes for measuring linguistic interaction in the classroom, they have no means of measuring teacher effectiveness.

This brief outline is intended to summarize the main directions for research in urban dialects which would help to answer the questions raised in the conference as a whole. For many of the problems mentioned, the joint efforts of linguists, social scientists, and educators will be needed. Their approaches appear to be complementary rather than contradictory, and there is every reason to think that considerable progress can be made through such cooperation.

DISCUSSION

Roger W. Shuy, Michigan State University
William Stewart, Center for Applied Linguistics
Charles Ferguson, Center for Applied Linguistics
Ruth Golden, Detroit Public Schools
Thomas Creswell, Chicago Teachers College, South
Raven I. McDavid, Jr., University of Chicago
Muriel Crosby, Wilmington, Delaware, Public Schools

The applicability of Labov's work to other urban areas was discussed at length. It was generally agreed that one might expect quite different results if he were to apply Labov's technique to other areas but that Labov's great contribution is in presenting an empirical model that can be applied to a variety of situations and in pointing out variables that can lead to comparative studies which use virtually the same parameters.

A second topic of discussion centered on the pedagogical applications of this approach. Labov stated that a great deal more study will have to be made before language engineering for the lower classes can be successful. Since the homes of many lower class and working people do not provide the pressures toward upward social mobility that middle class homes provide, we must build into the group, starting from a level not much above the nursery school and going on through high school, a tolerance for practice in second role playing.

Since he mentioned only two of the five indices of Standard English in New York City, Labov was asked to enumerate all five. They are:

1. The use of *r* in postvocalic and preconsonantal position (*guard, horse,* but not including *work* and *shirt*—which are special cases).
2. The vowel in *bad, ask, dance, had, cash.*
3. The stressed vowel in *awful, coffee, office.*
4. The use of (θ) in *thing* and *thin.*
5. The use of (ð) in *then* and *the.*

Labov also mentioned that one of the most important social contrasts in American English is found in the /ɑ/~/ɔ/ collapse. He estimated that people in about half the geographic area of the U. S. have no contrast between "hock" and "hawk" or between "cot" and "caught."

SOME PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN THE LANGUAGE TEACHING SITUATION IN JAMAICA

BERYL BAILEY

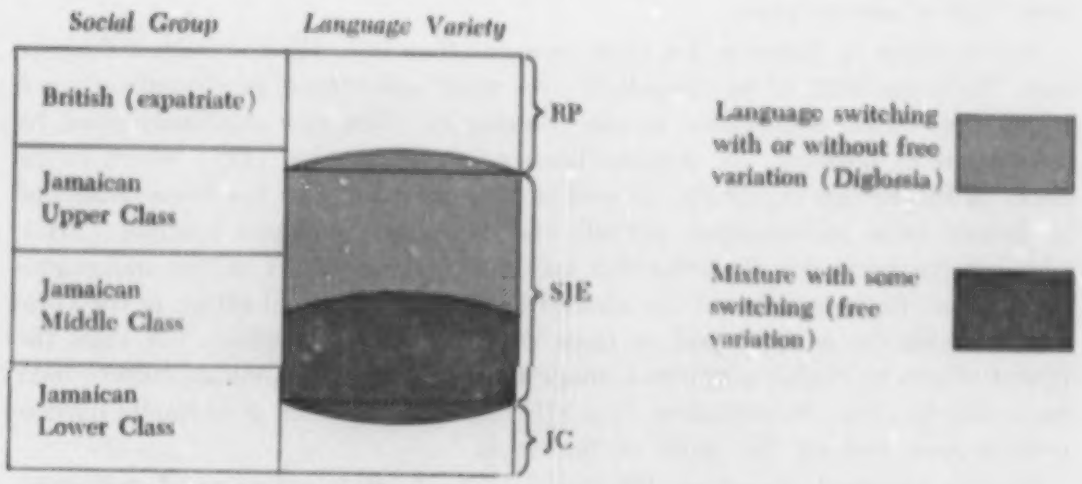
Jamaica, with its population of a million and a half, 95 percent of whom are descendants of the African slaves brought to the island during the notorious slave trade era, furnishes a striking example of linguistic variation of great complexity. The situation has generally been described as a continuum, with Standard English at one end, and at the other Jamaican Creole, which is an English-based Creole with a lexicon predominantly English, but having an independent grammar and phonology. Between these two poles lies a range of vernaculars representing the fusion and interaction of varying subsystems, which exhibits no clear lines of demarcation.

The situation is, however, far more complex than is implied in such a description. To begin with, if by "standard" one must understand the linguistic norm which has widest acceptance in the community, then two standards must be recognized in Jamaica, viz. British Received Pronunciation (RP) which is the idiom of the British expatriate, as well of the Jamaican who has been domiciled in Britain over an extended period; and Standard Jamaican English (SJE), which is the norm for the educated and upper class sectors of the indigenous population. Both varieties of the standard enjoy a high social rating in the community, with the scale tipped in favor of RP, a situation which not even the recent efforts to evolve a national image and a distinctly Jamaican culture have been able to alter. Nevertheless, it is SJE and not RP which is normally used in conversation and on the radio or television.

Strictly speaking, therefore, RP does not lie in the continuum, but is completely external to it. The continuum itself is marked by the all-pervasive Creole influence, from the Jamaican Creole (JC) at one end to SJE at the other, SJE being essentially English which has undergone local modifications due to JC influence. These modifications have taken place at all levels, phonological, grammatical, and lexical, and the situation is further complicated by the fact that at no point in the continuum is there a single subsystem. Rather there is constant interaction of two or more subsystems, speakers who belong to the same subgroup using a style which exhibits differing proportions of the Creole and English components, and differing also in the overt manifestations of these components.

In passing, it must be observed that although all the essentials of a diglossia situation as described by Charles Ferguson are present, there is no clear functional distribution of the vernaculars to parallel that with which William Stewart has found in Haiti. Educated Jamaicans do not normally admit knowledge of the Creole, and when pressed will explain that while they understand it, and will use it to make themselves understood by an illiterate JC speaker, they do so only with much difficulty. I was informed by the principal of a preparatory school that "I don't know it, and wouldn't want to know that I knew it either." The fact is, however, that in normal conversation, most Jamaicans indulge in considerable code-switching, and even those who carefully avoid such switching have accepted as their norm for informal conversation a form of English which shows considerable Creole structure.

This linguistic variation reflects and, as Robert LePage and David DeCamp have shown,[1] correlates directly with the complex class stratification in the social structure, so that linguistic behavior has been not only an index of status, but a status determiner as well. The situation may be illustrated by a simple chart, thus:


Social Group
Language Variety
British (expatriate)
Jamaican Upper Class
Jamaican Middle Class
Jamaican Lower Class
RP
SJE
JC
Language switching with or without free variation (Diglossia)
Mixture with some switching (free variation)

It is possible to move from one social class to another by changing one's linguistic norm. This is of course due to another factor, the correlation between a good education and acceptable English, which makes it possible to assume that ability to manipulate SJE is indicative of a good education, in addition, of course, to birth in a higher caste or class.

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[1] Robert B. LePage and David DeCamp, *Jamaican Creole: Creole Language Studies I* (London: Macmillan, 1960), Chapter IV.

This situation accentuates the necessity for a new and realistic approach to language teaching in Jamaica, where the social structure puts such a strain on linguistic competence. Because educational policy in this direction has never been realistic, the results have been increasingly discouraging. Virtually all teachers in the primary school use the SJE norm, and yet it is RP which they strive to teach, perpetuating the specious system in which they had themselves been schooled. To do these teachers justice, it must be observed that SJE has yet to be analyzed and described, and that the only texts now available for teaching English are those intended for British children in British schools.

Perhaps even more disconcerting is the fact that the necessary reformation is not in sight, for there is yet considerable resistance to the concept of a Standard Jamaican English, most teachers maintaining that English is English, and that there is no such thing as a Jamaican English. Thus, the teacher who asks his pupil "What this is?" will insist that the child say or write "What is this?" and is quite unaware of the fact that his own usage is not consonant with that which he teaches. In situations of this kind there is a clear dichotomy between teacher's usage and RP, and the teacher knows it. Much more subtle are those differences of which he is not aware. Thus, for most primary school teachers the auxiliary *did* when used in an affirmative statement does not signify an emphatic, as it does in English. It simply means past, on the analogy of the JC *en*, so that a teacher will accept "I did know" for "I knew." (Compare the JC *mi en nuo* 'I knew.') Constructions of this kind are obviously SJE constructions.

As I have stated, there are significant stylistic variations involving all linguistic levels, but because my work has been concerned primarily with the field of grammar, and because it is in the grammar that SJE has compromised least with JC, I shall devote the remainder of this paper to presenting the principal features in which the two vernaculars diverge and to indicating the variations in grammatical structure which may be encountered in the continuum.

The structure of the JC sentence conforms to the English pattern–NP+VP–but subject-verb concord, obligatory in SJE, is wholly lacking in JC where, with but few exceptions, morphemes are invariable. Compare *di man nuo* 'the man knows' and *di man-dem nuo* 'the men know.' The *dem* suffix, derived from the English "them," is the sole marker of the plural in the Creole, as in *di hat-dem* 'the hats,' *di daag-dem* 'the dogs,' *di haas-dem*, 'the horses'; but there are two types of plural–the aggregate, exemplified in *di daag-dem* signifying *daag+daag+daag+* . . . and the associative, signifying 'the dog and the other domestic animals.' The SJE noun, like the English noun, has no associative plural, although the pronoun "we" is associative, since it does not signify several I's, but one I plus some other non-I's.

The variations which one encounters in the formation of the plural of nouns are of two kinds. The first affects the irregular nouns in which there is an inclination to make regular plurals, such as "the childrens"; and the second shows a reluctance to give up the *dem* suffix even after the correct form of the plural has been learned. Examples are "the girls-*dem*" or "the horses-*dem*."

As for the associative plural which we find in the Creole, it is most frequently used with proper names, such as *Jaaj-dem* 'George and his bunch.' Because there is no associative plural in SJE, this form persists even in the informal speech of SJE speakers, e.g., *Mary-them* 'Mary and company.' I have not encountered any case in which an attempt was made to apply the SJE aggregate marker /-Z/ to such nouns.

For the generic noun phrase, JC employs neither the article as in "the horse is a mammal," nor the plural marker as in "horses are mammals." There is but one possibility—the unmarked noun, as in *haas a mamal,* in which *a* is not the indefinite article, but is the equating verb "be" which English uses in such definitions. Among the variants which we find in such constructions are "horse is a mammal," "horse is mammal," or "a horse is a mammal."

The verb "be" does not occur in JC, although it begins to appear about midway in the continuum as one approaches SJE. It is represented in the Creole in one of three ways:

(a) zero before predicate adjectives, e.g., *di biebi ogli* 'the baby is ugly'
(b) *a* before predicate nouns, e.g., *di biebi a gyal* 'the baby is a girl'
(c) *de* before locative phrases, e.g., *di biebi de anda trii* 'the baby is under (the) tree.'

It may be noted, too, that *de* may be replaced by zero, giving *di beibi anda trii.* This means that the overt copula is mandatory only when it links two nouns or noun phrases. In all other cases it is either obligatorily missing or optional.

The subtleties of the verb "be" are among the last mastered in the learning process, for not only must the pupil learn when it must be used, but there is in addition a whole system of conjugation to be grasped. Both *a* and *de* must be identified with the verb "be" which has forms "is, am, are" and these in turn must be used with the correct subject nominal. "Is" is the form first learned, and predominates way up in the scale. Not until the pupil is well on the way to mastering the use of the verb is the distinction between the three fully internalized. The forms "was, were," etc., are discussed later under the verb phrase.

Also lacking in JC is the existential phrase "there is" for which some such periphrasis as "*dem hav*" or "*wi gat*" or NP+*de* must be substituted. Examples of these are *dem hav wan neks wan* or *wi gat wan neks wan* or *wan neks wan de,* all meaning "there is another one." Of these only "we have" persists in the standard. For such constructions as "there are hogs in the garden" JC has *hag de ina di gyaadn,* again with the generic form of the noun phrase, the unmarked *hag.* Consequently, even in SJE one is liable to hear "hogs are in the garden" competing with "there are hogs in the garden."

There is close affinity between the JC adjective and the verb, both being primarily predicators, and both capable of taking on a whole group of preverbal particles, in a given order. The attributive function of the adjective is secondary only, but in this capacity it can take the comparative suffixes *a* and *is*, as in *fat, fata, fatis* 'fat, fatter, fattest.' In this way it may be distinguished from the verb which even if used with adjectival function may not take the comparative suffixes. We may compare *di man fat* 'the man is fat' with *di man ron* or *di frak men* 'the frock is mended,' but we know that fat is an adjective, because it is possible to say *di man fata* 'the man is fatter'; and that *ron* and *men* are verbs because not only can't one say *_di man rona_ or *_di frak mena,_ but in the case of *men* it is also possible to say *Siera men di frak* 'Sara mended the frock.'

Of the preverbal particles which may occur with adjectives and verbs, the two which are the source of greatest variation are the progressive particle *a* (with variants *da and de*) 'is . . . ing,' and the tense particle *en* 'was, had, did,' (or the general meaning of past). When combined they yield the past progressive *ena*, etc., which takes on a variety of forms in the continuum. Thus for "I am walking" it is possible to have such diverse forms as *mi a waak* (JC), *mi iz waakin*, or *mi waakin;* for "I walked" *mi en waak* (JC) or as mentioned above *mi did waak* or "I did walk"; and for "I was walking" the variants *mi dida waak, mi woza waak, mi wor waakin, mi woz waakin,* "I were walking," along with the JC *mi ena waak*. Similar variations occur when *en* is prefixed to the predicate adjective. Examples are *mi did sik* 'I was sick' or "I did sick"; "I were sick," etc.

Another illustration of the affinity between the adjective and the noun is to be seen in the JC construction called *inversion*. This construction is virtually the same as that of the cleft sentence in English, but far greater use is made of it in the Creole. The device is used for giving prominence to some sentence part, whether it be a nominal, a predicator, or one of the adverbial modifiers—locative, time, and manner. It is executed by an introductory *a* (equivalent to English 'it is' or the French 'c'est' and possibly identical with the equating verb mentioned above), which is followed by the item which must be emphasized. All other constituents of the sentence follow in their normal order. If, however, the predicator is the prominent item, then the entire utterance, including the predicator itself, follows. Thus: if we start with a simple statement *Jak waan di buk* 'Jack wants the book' three inversions are possible, viz., *a Jak waan di buk; a di buk Jak waan;* and *a waan Jak waan di buk;* and for *mi sik* 'I am sick,' it is possible to get *a ma sik* 'it's I who am sick' and *a sik mi sik,* with the emphasis on *sik*.

This construction is responsible for the form of the introductory pronouns in questions, e.g., *a-huu put i de?* 'who put it there?'; *a-wa yu gat?* 'what do you have?' *a-hou im kom?* 'how did he come?'; and so forth.

At about the same time that the equating *a* and the progressive particle *a* become *iz* in the local speaker's usage, this introductory *a* follows suit, so that one frequently hears: "is now you just come" on the analogy of *a nou yu dis* *kom* 'have you only just come'; or "is who tell you so?" based on *a-huu tel yu so* 'who told you that?' the deep rooted need for constructions of this kind persists even in SJE and remains one of the knotty points to be solved by the linguist. Modern English really has nothing beyond a pitch-stress device by which to indicate such ideas, and the distinct deployment of pitch and stress in both JC and SJE makes them inadequate tools for emphasis. Consequently informal SJE borrows this construction outright, merely substituting "is" for *a*.

The inversion device, coupled with the negator *no* and the use of the high level intonation accounts for the rhetorical sentence, also expressive of a fundamental JC notion. In these sentences the negator does not negate, but serves a dual purpose: (a) to assert beyond reasonable doubt the truth of the proposition to which it is added, and (b) to elicit surprise on the part of the addressee. Examples of these are *di gyal no gaan!* '(would you believe that) the girl has gone'; *no maakit im gaan!* '(would you believe that) she has gone to (the) market!'; *no gaan im gaan a maakit!* (same as before, but with the emphasis on "gone"); and *no sik mi sik!* '(would you believe that) I am sick!' This construction, like inversion, expresses an emotion which is basic to the Jamaican psyche and persists in the informal style of SJE.

A number of JC verbs do not have verbal cognates in SJE and are a source of countless difficulties in the learning process. There is, for example, the verb *niem* 'to be named' for which English uses a construction with the noun "name," because it has no cognate verb, like the Creole. Thus the JC *mi niem Ruoz* 'I am called Rose' must be translated by the English "my name is Rose." If we bear in mind that the syntagm *mi niem* also means "my name," we may understand the degree of complexity involved in correcting this simple construction. Even after considerable drill, the child is liable to say "I name John." (In passing, I may add that one of my early recollections involves this construction. I well remember refusing to announce a visitor on the pretext that "I don't know what she name.")

Other verbs in this difficult category are *bizniz—mi no bizniz wa yu waan du* 'I don't care what you want to do'; *kom—hou im kom so?* 'why is he like that?'; *tan* 'stand'—*a so mi tan* 'that's the way I am'; *tikya* 'beware' from "take care"—*mi gwain tikya yu* 'I am going to keep shy of you.'

Then, too, there are a number of other constructions which tax our ingenuity; for try as one might it does not seem possible to find an exact English equivalent. Thus it is not possible in English to say "I am easy to shame" or even "I am easy to be ashamed" to parallel the JC *mi iizi fi shiem*, for what is implied in this is that feeling ashamed comes easy to me, but this shame is something induced by external factors, not necessarily by anything that I myself may have done. For this reason, it is not unusual to hear this awkward sentence in the informal speech of sophisticated SJE speakers.

Again there is no English counterpart to the sentence, *wen im laaf so, mi dis* *hafi laaf tu* which has the general meaning "he laughed so (heartily), I just had to laugh too." Two ideas are here fused,—the intensity of the laughter and the fact that it was the immediate cause of my laughing too. I have experienced great difficulty finding a parallel English construction which combines these two notions.

Before closing, I should point out that I have not had an opportunity to study the linguistic styles of any but the lowest strata of society. Even there, however, the diversity was marked. In one home in the hills of Manchester where most of my research was done, I found a grandmother whose story began:

> wans-opan-a-taim die woz a jengklman huu had wan uondli daata. har niem woz Pini. si woz a gie an dandi grl. shi didn laik tu taak to eni an eni man . . . shi staat tu taak tu a man, thinkin that it woz soch a wandaful man . . .

But for the difference in pronunciation (indicated here in the phonemic spelling), the syntax is readily recognizable as that of SJE. I hasten to add that this speaker also had a colloquial style which used JC syntax. Her grandson, on the other hand, although a schoolboy of eleven, was able to tell a story which, with the exception of the introductory formula *wans-opan-a-taim* for which I would have expected the JC *wantaim*, and a single use of *ai* 'I' instead of the JC *mi*, was told in pure Creole.

The fact that in a remote country village a grandmother of sixty-plus was able to tell a story in SJE, while her grandson, still a youngster in school, found the JC style so easy to manipulate, serves to throw further light on the immensity of the problem which faces the linguist in this area of investigation.

DISCUSSION

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The major focus in the discussion of this paper was in the matter of the significance of the African or Creole substratum in Negro speech in America. Bailey stressed that she was not concerned about the historical process involved in the development of Negro speech. She was interested primarily in the substructure—that which was lost in the process. Several participants felt that the historical facts were of greater significance than Bailey allowed and the discussion ended in rather strong disagreement.

Gr

TEACHING STANDARD LANGUAGES TO DIALECT SPEAKERS

CHARLES FERGUSON

I agreed to make a few remarks which would give us an international perspective for the choices that we have to make on the American national scene. I wanted to do this because in a problem of this kind everybody is going to be focusing very intensely on the situation as we see it here and there is a tendency to overlook the fact that there are similar situations in different parts of the world. Other people have made choices in trying to solve this kind of problem and we might, after looking around the world, consider some choices that we wouldn't have thought of if we had restricted our attention to the problem here at home. When I talk about choices, I have in mind primarily the decision as to what language should be used as the medium of instruction in our schools and as the primary language subject matter.

Someone, this morning, made the comment that it has always been the job of the school teacher to teach the forms, constructions, and styles of Standard English to the student who comes to the classroom without having learned Standard English at home. This has been the view, without much discussion, on the part of most linguists in the United States for perhaps thirty years or more. In the last chapter of his *American English Grammar*, Charles C. Fries observes: "Here it has been assumed that the obligation resting upon the schools is to teach the knowledge of and the ability to use the 'Standard' English of the United States."[1] It is worth reminding ourselves of this because linguists are so often caricatured as being in favor of letting people say whatever they want, although in so far as linguists have expressed themselves in this country on this topic, it has been their opinion that it is the job of the teacher to teach Standard English to speakers of substandard or nonstandard English. However, that doesn't go very far in solving this problem. There is the question, "What is Standard English?" There is the question, "Is this *always* the right thing to choose as a medium of instruction?" Also, "What is the relation of Standard English to the various possible languages of the school children?" I don't believe linguists have thought much about these problems either as linguists or as citizens until the last several years.

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[1] Charles C. Fries, *American English Grammar* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1940), p. 287.

The first point that I wanted to make in discussing this question of choice is that this is one of those rare opportunities where we *can* make a choice about what is going to happen in the question of language. Linguists are very fond of pointing out that almost everything in language happens outside the realm of conscious choice. What language we speak as our mother tongue is not up to us to decide. Even what language we teach our children as a mother tongue is not up to us to decide. Circumstances take care of that. Almost all the choices that one might think of are forced upon us in the use of language. But the question of the choice of a language as a medium of instruction is one which is usually made in some legislative fashion by which policy makers can think it over, discuss it, and decide on it. Then, if the resources of the community are adequate to implement the decision, the decision can be put into effect. This is a universal or near universal fact in modern nations. The nation, or some part of the nation, has to decide what language it wants to use in its educational system and what the relation of that language and the language of the students shall be. It should be possible for us to discuss this in some reasonable way, to look at the pros and cons, and then to make our decision.

Generally speaking, when people who are in policy making positions make this kind of decision, they decide on one of three kinds of languages as the medium of instruction. I don't have any good names for these, and they shade off into one another a little bit, but it seems to me that there are three. One possibility is to decide to teach the children their "native" language, in which the kind of language used as the medium of instruction and as the subject matter for what would correspond to our English classes is approximately the same as the kind of language that the child speaks and that his parents and household speak. The second possibility is to choose a kind of language that is very similar to the native language but enough different to cause serious problems of communication and interference. I have called this "near-native" or "quasi-native." The third possibility is where the language chosen is really quite different from the native language of the child. We may call this "foreign." It might be useful to take two sample countries where the choice of the medium of instruction has required that it be native, near-native, or foreign for different segments of the population, so we can see what this means.

Tanganyika would be a good example. In Tanganyika, the choice has been made that Swahili should be the medium of instruction throughout the country, and that classes in Swahili should play the same role that classes in English play in our system. Now it so happens that for a minority of the inhabitants of the country, Swahili is the native language of the children who come to school, so for them the problem is extending their Swahili, perhaps bringing it into line with the Standard Swahili which they don't quite speak at home. But for the vast majority of the school children of Tanganyika, the language of the home is some other language, related to Swahili. The grammatical system is similar, the phonology is similar, and the vocabulary is similar to Swahili, but still it is not really Swahili. In some cases it is very close; in others further away. This obviously presents a different set of learning problems and yet the decision has been to teach these children in the medium of Swahili and to establish Swahili as a classroom subject matter even though for some of these children this means quite a sharp break with the mother tongue. Then there is another small minority of the school population which speaks languages radically different from Swahili—unrelated, with different grammatical systems, different vocabulary, and different phonology. The children of group one are also required to have Swahili as a medium of instruction in the school system. We can see that the teaching problems are quite different in these three situations and we can also see why the Tanganyikan government might choose Swahili as a national medium of instruction in the schools in spite of the different problems that will be caused in different segments of the population by such a decision. Whether the decision is "right" or "wrong" is another question, but certainly the leaders of Tanganyika gave a lot of time and thought to this issue.

As our second example, let us take a European country, Spain. Centuries ago it was decided that Spanish should be the medium of instruction in the entire school system, with Spanish instruction corresponding to our English instruction. Here, to the majority of the people in the country, Spanish is the mother tongue, and the kind of Standard Spanish taught in the school is not radically different from the home language, though there are differences. But there are substantial segments of the population in which spoken Spanish, Galician, for example, is quite different from the Spanish that is taught in the school. It is different enough, in fact, that the children become bidialectal. On the other hand, there are some parts of the Spanish school population which are Catalan speaking or Basque speaking, where the difference is so great that the children must become bilingual.

There are these three distinct possibilities, then. The most interesting, and the one of most general significance to us, is the "near-native" one. That is where there is a fairly close relationship between the home language and the standard language, but there is enough difference to cause serious problems. This comes in different varieties, too. One very common variety of this is where there is a standard language versus a regional dialect of some kind. Very often, what happens here is that the regional dialect is enough different that the child goes on using it for some purposes while, in addition, he learns the standard language. Everybody regards this as all right. That is, there is no moral feeling that this is something that they should not do. Both can be used. Let us take a specific example. Suppose you come from Kerman in Iran and you go to a school which used Standard Persian while you speak Kermani Persian. There is enough difference that you learn to speak both ways: it is not shameful to speak your brand of Persian when you are with your own people, but you speak Standard Persian when you are with people from other parts of Persia. Everyone accepts this as a normal, natural thing to do. Or in a country like Austria, if you go to school, and you speak a very typical dialect of Viennese, you also learn Standard German in the school, but it is not felt wrong to continue to use the very marked Viennese dialect which is quite different in structure from the Standard German, and Standard German and Viennese can both be used in the proper setting.

The second kind of situation is what is sometimes called "diglossia," where the standard language is a kind of fake standard language in a sense. It is taught in the schools, but it is not expected that the children will ever learn to use it as an ordinary medium of conversation. It is used only for formal occasions, for written purposes, and formal spoken purposes such as speeches, ritual performances, etc., but no one is ever expected to speak this as a normal language. This would be typically the case in Greece for example, when in most of the schools the kind of Greek that is taught and used as a medium of instruction is something that no one ever expects the children to speak in ordinary conversation. All the rest of their lives they will speak conversational Greek in conversation and use this "school" Greek for written purposes and for certain formal purposes.

One interesting case is where we have a standard language as a medium of instruction and a related Creole language which is the mother tongue of the children. This isn't really a separate case; it really belongs under one of the others, but since "Creole" has been mentioned here several times, it is worth considering specifically. Consider a country like Sierra Leone where Standard English is used as a medium of instruction in the schools and the students speak a kind of English-based Creole. This, in the case of Sierra Leone, resembles for some speakers a diglossia situation. For other speakers, it resembles the first kind of situation where we have regional dialect versus standard. For still others, the situation shades off into what I am going to give as the third variety. Some of these speakers will be using Creole all their lives for a wide range of purposes. Other speakers will learn to use Standard English for a very wide range of purposes. In between we have the students who will learn to use Standard English only in rather limited situations such as school life.

Finally, we have the kind of thing that is common in the United States: the standard language is chosen as the medium of instruction where some students come speaking a substandard variety of that language. Now, this raises another set of problems. I know that it is tempting to make this be like one of the other types that I listed, like the standard language versus regional dialect, but there is something different. The use of a regional dialect in Persia, let us say, does not automatically stamp that prson as somehow inferior or uneducated. An educated Persian may speak Kermani to other Kermania, but he is still regarded as an educated man. But the situation is obviously different where the use of substandard speech in ordinary conversation automatically signifies that you are in some way uneducated or inferior. Take Australia for example. There are kinds of English spoken in Australia which are regarded by many people as socially inferior and unacceptable. Some students come to school speaking only this kind of English, and the teachers try to teach them a more acceptable kind of Australian English. This is often, in fact, a kind of British English. In any case, if the student does not master the "better" kind of English but continues to use his so called "broad" Australian when he is speaking with educated people in conversation, he is stamped as somehow socially inferior.

This brings us to the question, "What possibilities of choice do we have in the United States?" In the past, this choice has not been made explicit very often. No one has asked in a Texas town, "Should we use English or Spanish as a medium of instruction in a school system where 85 percent of the people are native speakers of Spanish?" It is assumed that English will be the natural medium of instruction. No one has asked whether we should make an effort to teach some kind of Southern standard as our model in certain places in the South or teach some kind of more "General American" standard. Questions like this just haven't been raised. We automatically assume that some kind of unqualified Standard English is right for all over the country. But I think there are several different situations and they might call for different choices under different circumstances. In the last few years, people have begun to talk about cultural pluralism in America with a little bit more insistence and more commitment to the notion. In this context, the question arises: "What is the role of Standard English in a school system where the students are speakers of some other language, such as Spanish or Chinese or an American Indian language?" Another question is, "What is the situation where the children in school speak a regional dialect of Standard American English which is radically different from a regional variety of some other part of the country?" It is conceivable that other choices might be made to replace our unqualified sort of Standard English as the medium and focus of instruction.

Now my final point is: "What is the situation among Negro groups and Negro segments of the population in cities in the North of the United States?" Here, this is clearly not the case of a regional dialect; it is not the case of another language, and it is probably not the case of Creole either. Nor, since it is used in ordinary adult conversation, does it seem to be the case of a substandard variety of English which does not have social acceptability in the community as a whole. We have to face a rather difficult decision as to whether we want to make these people bidialectal—an interesting thought expressed recently but not even considered a few years ago—or whether we want to seek the older goal, which still has a lot to recommend it, of trying to impose some kind of Standard English on these people and to eradicate the kind of substandard English they speak. Whichever choice we make, we have to do a great deal of research on what the linguistic facts are in each situation. We must be concerned not only with the linguistic facts, but with a whole series of attitudinal facts and matters which would interest sociologists and psychologists much more than they would interest linguists. If we have enough research on these questions of purely linguistic concern and general social science concern, it may be possible for us to make a more intelligent choice, and it may be possible for us to devise materials and tehniques which would be more appropriate for the choice that we make.

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V.

Reactions of Related Behavior Sciences

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DIALECT SAMPLING AND LANGUAGE VALUES

ROBERT GREEN

One observation that I have made pertinent to several papers (the most recent paper being Labov's) concerns sampling techniques as related to their research designs. I believe that we might be facing a problem of random and representative sampling. When one samples randomly from a well-specified population, it is only possible to make generalizations and inferences about the involved population. I think Labov and Williamson, especially, might have been faced with this problem. For example, Labov did a very good job of defining his population. As indicated, Labov's population was stratified on the basis of sex and age. In other words, Labov was looking for given number of males and females of certain age levels. Labov's problem was essentially this: he indicated that when individuals in the sample were reluctant to respond to questions as posed by the interviewer, they could no longer be included in the sample. If this happened often enough and if that subject is not replaced with a similar subject, then one ends up with a biased sample. In other words, a selective factor exerts itself.

Small samples need not be problems in themselves provided that appropriate statistical techniques are utilized. Sample size was not necessarily a problem in Labov's case because he was able to sample randomly and representatively from a large population. Mrs. Golden might have been faced with a slightly different sampling problem in Detroit in that she had an even more restricted population with which she was working. However, she did not attempt to make generalizations about high school youngsters throughout the United States.

The other brief comment that I would like to make concerns values as they relate to language change. I am sure I can be taken to task for this point of view. I have already made the comment that when large pockets of economically and educationally deprived young people find themselves in cities such as Chicago, New York, Detroit, or Philadelphia and the dialect that is used in their particular subculture is very unlike the standard dialect in that given area, it seems to me then that there might be a need for a change in dialect patterns. By doing so the individual may be able to operate more fully within the general or dominant culture. I am not referring to Standard English that may have with it a peculiar accent that can readily be identified with a certain section of the United States; I am referring to substandard English that can be readily identified as being a part of a culture within the large culture. When this happens, there is a need for change.

There are many social ramifications pertinent to substandard English. I have had experience working in Detroit, San Francisco, and Oakland with many Negro youngsters who were experiencing language-communication problems which, in many cases, were a result of substandard English. One of the most immediate social ramifications that was related to their language difficulty was in their attempts at finding employment. It is well known that most supermarket and dime store managers, for example, are reluctant to hire people who may have difficulty communicating with others. As a matter of fact, in the state of Michigan some individuals will have difficulty finding employment if they have a strong Southern accent. This is especially applicable to employment as a telephone operator. The comment was made that perhaps we should not try to change certain language patterns even though they may be substandard. It was further indicated that if a person has a dialect that is peculiar to a given area and moves to another area, we should not attempt to change the dialect since it is acceptable in other parts of the United States. I would say that this point of view is not necessarily a defensible one, and I would again present the argument stressed previously—that area dialects which allow one to be identified and discriminated against perhaps should be restructured.

The last point I would like to make is one that has not been brought up and is related to an observation that I made when I worked with a group of high school youngsters in Oakland, California. Their problem involved the combination of slang terminology and substandard English. Slang terminology became so much a part of their regular vocabulary that many classroom teachers had a difficult time understanding and communicating with the youngsters at this junior high school. I had a group of twenty youngsters designated as delinquent in a group counseling situation. Although I had had much experience in working with youngsters in Oakland, I found that much of the slang terminology was rather incomprehensible to me. When I asked them to tell me their most frequently used slang terms, I discovered about seventy-five slang terms that were used daily. Using this list, we developed what was known as a "Hiptionary." In a manner that is somewhat similar to teaching a foreign language or teaching English as a second language, I translated these terms and tried to get the youngsters to replace the slang terms with regular English words in their everyday vocabulary. This became quite functional in the classroom because, for the first time, much of their written work became more meaningful to their teachers, especially to the English teachers. Slang terminology, I believe, compounds the problem of communication.

At the same time I would like to stress that early speech training is very important in this regard. The work of Martin Deutsch and Vera John in New

York City and Burton Blatt at Boston University is concerned with the speech patterns of economically and educationally deprived youth. It is especially crucial, I would say, for non-white and white youngsters in educationally depressed areas to receive early and compensatory language training since substandard English is often the only English that they are exposed to. For example, a short time ago I had an experience with a very good friend who was able to converse quite readily in Yiddish at home but, at the same time, had an excellent command of English. I think, too, at the high school level you might find youngsters from immigrant families who are able to converse quite readily with the dialect in the home situation and at the same time be able to use Standard English in a school situation. This is not so with many educationally deprived youngsters. The very inadequate speech that is used in the home is also used in the neighborhood, in the play group, and in the classroom. Since these poor English language patterns are reconstructed constantly by the associations that these young people have, the school has to play a strong role in bringing about a change in order that these young people can communicate more adequately in our society.

BILINGUALISM AND BIDIALECTALISM

Einar Haugen

My comments on this project will be those of a linguist who has never had the heart to divorce language from those who speak it. I am, this summer, a member of the special seminar on sociolinguistics under the direction of Charles Ferguson at the Linguistics Institute. It is a real satisfaction at last to see people taking seriously the kinds of linguistic problems which have always interested me most, such as bilingualism and dialect differences.

The central concern of most American linguists has been the development of methods for the study of language structure. While this is vital to the maintenance of a distinct scientific discipline of linguistics, it leaves unexplored all the interconnections between language and society. The discussions at this conference have shown very clearly the need for an interplay of various competencies in the solution of the Negro's linguistic problem. In the initiation of a linguistic slum clearance program, it will be necessary to call on social workers and sociologists to discover the socially relevant dimensions. It will be necessary, also, to ask the teachers in our school systems to implement the program when it is eventually decided upon. I can speak only on behalf of those scholars whose task it will be to identify the linguistic features of Negro speech and to relate these to the lives of the users. As a one-time field worker, I can evaluate the enormous problems which face the linguists in the working out of field techniques, the preparation of work sheets, the selection of informants, the conduct of interviews, the compilation of responses and the evaluation of their significance.

We have some excellent and very promising examples of new work in this area at this conference. As a student of bilingualism and as a dialectologist, I am aware of the many difficulties that stand in the way of a proper interpretation of the data and the delicate problems involved in any program for changing the present situation. Let me point out first of all that the problem we speak of is not merely the Negro's problem, it is the problem of all basic English instruction in our schools. From the founding of the Republic, one of the chief purposes of our free school system has been to teach speakers of nonstandard English to read, write, and speak Standard English. This has applied not only to the millions of immigrant children, but also to most of the children of the Anglo-Saxon settlers. There is more agreement on the Standard form of English in the United States than in Great Britain, and it is taught and used in wider circles of the population. We owe this, as was pointed out here, primarily to the geographical and social mobility of our population, but also to the patient and devoted work of the much maligned American schoolmarm. Her faith in "good English" has inspired many an ambitious pupil and if all her work has still failed to produce acceptable English in many, we can't be surprised if our project here does not immediately produce the results we want. We should ask: if two centuries of English teaching has left white children without a command of Standard English, how can we expect the often underprivileged Negro children to acquire it within a short time?

But perhaps the goal has been wrong. Let us first of all abandon the idea that Standard English is a foreign language to these children. Accept rather the idea that they have learned one dialect of English and they need to learn another. They already know something of the latter. I feel, contrary perhaps to Mr. Green, that they can't help but have heard it at least on the radio or TV. We don't need to make them bidialectal; we only need to change them from passive or unconscious bidialectals to active, conscious ones. They must be made aware of the differences and drilled in the production of the new form until they can produce it well. The techniques of the oral approach in foreign language teaching are available, and they should be used, but they are not a panacea. Bidialectalism may actually be harder to acquire than bilingualism. All scholars have agreed that it is harder to keep two similar languages apart than two very different ones.

The linguist's task will be that of making a realistic description of the two dialects, of establishing a differential analysis of their systematic deviation in sound, grammar, and lexicon; of these, the grammar is the hardest and the most important. We have to recognize that all the phenomena of bilingualism will occur—the switching of codes, even the confusion of codes, which leads inevitably to linguistic interference and language change.

In the learning of foreign languages, there are two related factors that are more psychological than linguistic and yet they have to be the concern of the teachers of language. One is motivation and the other is identity.

Every language teacher knows how important motivation is in general terms, but the main component is not necessarily the dollars and cents value, the job opportunities which I think have been emphasized very strongly here. For most people, a highly important motivation is admiration and liking for the speakers of the foreign language. In Canada it has been shown by actual test that the English speakers who successfully learn French are those who like and admire the French. The most powerful motivation for learning a language is the wish to identify oneself with its speakers. Unless the white community shows an active will to accept and integrate the Negro citizen, these cannot possibly have a full scale motivation for learning Standard English. The school can give them only a surrogate for the teaching they should be getting from their white friends and neighbors. Those who learn Standard English may still be snubbed and rejected for their color. They have put in a great deal of effort to lose their Negro identity yet they have still failed to acquire a white identity.

To become bidialectal is to acquire a dual identity, and we must never forget that the Negro dialect or any dialect identifies the pupil with his family, his playmates, and most of his later associates. We should, therefore, beware of tearing them out of context without making sure that there is at the same time, in the American white society, a change of heart and of law which will make them able to work at their language lessons with some kind of happy assurance that their efforts are not in vain.

THE SOCIAL GROUP AS A PRIMARY UNIT OF ANALYSIS IN DIALECT STUDY

John J. Gumperz

I would like to address myself to two problems that underlie many of the remarks made at this conference: the problem of collecting socially significant linguistic data, and the correlations we find between social phenomena and the linguistic data we collect. Speaking as a linguist who has worked largely in multilingual communities and who has made it a practice to cooperate closely with fellow social anthropologists, I have been impressed by the fact that the objectives we follow in our linguistic work are often at variance with those of social scientists studying what on the surface seem to be similar problems.

The bulk of speech community studies so far have been motivated by an interest in language history. As a rule, we are concerned with the linguistic antecedents of particular forms, dialects, or styles, and hence we tend to focus on the forms themselves and their cognates rather than on the verbal habits of the speakers who use them. When we study a nonstandard variety of English, for example, we ask, what is its relation to Standard English? What has it borrowed from other dialects? To what extent has it been affected by foreign languages? We are less concerned with the place of such a nonstandard variety in everyday interaction, and with such questions as when and where it is used, what other forms are used by its speakers, to what extent its speakers get along in Standard English, or, most importantly, with the social significance of the fact that the nonstandard variety continues to be used in an environment dominated by Standard American English.

I don't want to imply that our interest in language history is not a legitimate one; it is very important for the study of language, per se. I would like to suggest, however, that this emphasis is not necessarily relevant for an understanding of present-day sociolinguistic conditions. By focusing on particular linguistic forms we are in danger of leaving out important information which may be crucial in relating the data we collect to the social problems we wish to solve.

It has been pointed out at this conference, for example, that the underprivileged in large areas in Detroit speak "Memphis dialect." The discussion highlights the differences between class dialects in Detroit; it does not touch upon the fact that in transferring their Memphis speech forms to Detroit, speakers have undoubtedly adapted many northern features into their speech, and that as a result, the Detroit variety of Memphis dialect is in fact different from the "Memphis dialect" spoken in Memphis itself. Both the adaptations and the differences are, of course, important; the former as indices of the adjustment which has already taken place, and the latter as indices of the adjustments which remain to be made.

In sum, our terminology deals with dialects and standard languages as if they were monolithic wholes which can be discussed apart from their speakers and the social settings in which they are used. In actual fact we know, of course, that speech behavior does not always fit the linguist's categories. Thus a bidialectal situation can represent two socially distinct phenomena. The transition between two dialects may be so gradual that the two tend to merge; or the two dialects may be clearly separated by sharp isoglosses. In the latter case we would expect the groups in question to be isolated from each other and intergroup contact to be severely limited. In the former case we might suspect that the social isolation at some levels would be bridged by overlapping ties with outside groups in spheres of activity. Members of such a group may be residentially segregated but maintain regular contact with outsiders through economic or friendship ties. From the point of view of social communications, the difference between the two types of situations is crucial.

These and similar problems can be avoided if we take a social group as the primary unit of analysis and study the linguistic behavior of such groups—in the friendship circles, in the classroom, on the job, etc. The linguistic forms then become dependent variables to be analyzed as realizations of particular kinds of behavior. In a sense, this is what William Labov did when he surveyed a random sample of speakers, using sampling techniques of large-scale sociological survey. An alternate procedure, more akin to the sociologists' and social psychologists' small group studies, would be to work with natural face-to-face groups defined by preexisting friendship, family, occupational, or classroom ties. Some very interesting work in this area is presently being done by Basil Bernstein of the London University School of Education. In contrast to previous investigators who have attempted to correlate dialects with class, socioeconomic status, and similar traditional static social science categories, Bernstein, following Malinowski, Raymond Firth, and others, is interested in verbal behavior as it reflects interpersonal relationships. The structure of such relationships is closely dependent on the family, occupational and educational experiences of a group's members, and on the nature of the outside contacts they maintain. It may, therefore, vary from small group to small group within any population.

Basic to Bernstein's linguistic views is the fact that a person's language use, i.e., the forms he employs in actual speech, always carry both referential, or cognitive meaning *and* social meaning. They provide information about objects and concepts in the outside world, while at the same time symbolizing intergroup attitudes of formality, informality, social intimacy, social distance, etc. Subgroups vary in the relative importance they assign to the cognitive versus the social functions of messages, and this variation is related to their position within the network of interpersonal relationships. The more narrowly confined the interlocutors' background, the smaller the range of their experiences and contacts, the greater the likelihood that their utterances will have social rather than cognitive motivation. Since little new information is intended to be conveyed, terminology tends to be vague, syntax runs toward simple constructions, with minimal use of qualifiers, conjunctions, and subordination, and there is a high frequency of stereotyped expressions. Such modes of speaking are referred to as *restricted codes*. On the other hand, groups such as we find among the urban middle classes consisting of individuals whose background brings them into contact with a wide range of different individuals tend to show higher frequency of cognitive usage. As a result their lexicon is more highly differentiated, and their syntax more complex. They are said to use an *elaborated code*.

Bernstein tests this hypothesis through group discussions with two sets of groups—one of middle class background and one of lower class background. Each group is exposed to similar sets of topical stimuli: they are asked to comment on news events, to complete certain story passages, etc. Discussions are tape recorded, and the material is then analyzed both for content and for linguistic structure. The content reflects predominant group attitudes, while the syntactic structure of messages serves as a measure of verbal facility. The samples obtained in this way do indeed seem to show significant differences in phonology, grammar, and syntax. Socially determined attitudes to speaking thus influence verbal expression and result in measurable linguistic distinctions.

The detailed implications of these differences are still being analyzed, but the field techniques themselves should be of interest to this conference. Discussions in groups composed of people who have preexisting social ties lend themselves very well to the collection of natural speech. When people know each other, they react to each other, and although outside investigators may be present, their presence causes only minimal disruptions in the natural flow of speech. Furthermore, if the investigator is skillful, he may manipulate linguistic forms by varying topics. For example, discussion of moral or ethical issues would call forth maximal complexity of vocabulary and snytax. We would expect that restricted and elaborated code users would respond differently to the challenge posed by such topical suggestions. These differences in response are a measure of their verbal facility and reflect their attitudes to speaking.

In conclusion, it would seem that Bernstein's method, aside from its practical advantages for the collection of data, is well-suited to the research needs of modern educators because it relates motivation to linguistic form. It could easily be applied within a particular school system, where students of various class background show significantly different educational achievement, in order to isolate some of the difficulties involved and to work out methods for their solution.

DIALECT PROBLEMS AND LEARNING TO READ

HARRY LEVIN

As though the pedagogical problems associated with dialect were not serious and difficult enough, I should like to talk about the relationship between dialects and learning to read. It seems to me that there are three ways that the presence of dialect and learning to read influence each other. First is the nature of the mapping of the spoken language to the writing system as a guide to the selection of material for children who are learning to read. Usually this mapping is done on some standard system of pronunciation. What are the implications for a child who does not speak the standard language? In other words, what happens when he is given some material to decode and the language that comes out is not in his own social dialect? This is likely to be a problem with certain regional dialects also. This suggests that we need separate spelling-to-sound mappings of regional and nonstandard dialects to give us some idea of how best to present written material to these children. A most intelligent presentation gives him a set of regularities so he is able to handle these instances in reading when he comes to them. The problem of decoding is not only a phonological problem, but also a problem in very complicated matters such as restricted and elaborated codes as well as syntax to which the child is unaccustomed.

The second issue, if we think of reading as mediated through the child's language, is this: should we first teach a child to read a transcription of his nonstandard dialect and then introduce the standard dialect? This seems a little odd in English. It is something I would hesitate to recommend, but one of my colleagues at Cornell is doing something similar with the Qetchua language. He is teaching the people to read their native language first. Once they get a concept of reading and a concept of the difference between the written and spoken languages, he will introduce Spanish and the reading of Spanish.

Another problem, one that has come up in Labov's study, is why the nonstandard items in the dialect decrease in the reading of narrative material as well as in the reading of lists. His data seemed to be very clear on this point. On the other hand, if this does happen, why is there no feedback from learning to read to speaking? I have several guesses. One is that in learning to read the child does not have a clear notion of the relationship between oral reading and the language which he uses in speaking to other people. Now I can see why this association is difficult. What child is ever going to say, "Look, look,

look, Jane, Jane, Jane." It is obvious that the material is not programed so that the relationship can become clear. One feedback of reading on speaking, for example, is that a child forms the concept of a word when he learns to read.

Another practical point I want to make stems from an experience I had last summer. I spent the last month in Washington in the Office of Education as a consultant working on a variety of problems. From what we can see, as soon as the Anti-Poverty Bill is passed there will be about a thousand applications for preschool programs for three and four year olds. This will present many problems.[1] We know a little about the urban slum child in terms of his language, type of behavior, and types of relations with adults. After a decade of research in the New York City area, we have a background on the urban slum child which enables us to make some good guesses about programs there. But we don't have the people who are trained to set up programs, and I don't think we have enough good research ideas to use all the opportunities and funds that will be available. But, as these preschool programs develop, one of the things we will have to consider is the kind of language training to be given to disadvantaged children. If we do believe that the child should be made bi-dialectal at the age of three or four, what do we know about teaching a three year old a new dialect?

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[1] Since this conference the Anti-Poverty Bill has been passed, and the problems have been dealt with.

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DISCUSSION

Albert H. Marckwardt, Princeton University
Harry Levin, Cornell University
William Labov, Columbia University
Thomas Creswell, Chicago Teachers College, South
John Gumperz, University of California

The discussion of these four presentations clarified Levin's Qetchua example as illustrative of a bilingual rather than a bidialectal situation. It was agreed that in his first reading experiences any child should get the form of language that is as close to his speech as possible. Marckwardt mentioned two recent attempts at easing the transition from speech to reading: The Initial Teaching Alphabet (though it was conceived without the blessing of linguists) and improvements in the sentence structures of primers. More help is needed.

Labov and Green entered into a lengthy discussion of sampling techniques. Labov described the sampling in his New York City project and stressed that in future work he planned to cut down rather than extend the sample: "We want to take smaller and smaller samples because language is a much more general type of behavior than most of the other things that sociologists investigate. Our claim is that efficient sampling method is dependent upon the consistency of the results. We want to find out as much as we can about language while using the most accurate methods."

VI.

Implications for Future Research

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FUTURE RESEARCH: IMPLICATIONS GROWING OUT OF THE WILMINGTON STUDY

MURIEL CROSBY

I shall describe four implications for research and training programs in the public schools. Before I identify them, however, I would like to tell you a little about some aspects of the situation in Wilmington, Delaware. A study of schools and changing neighborhoods which has been going on there for the past five years in the public elementary schools has made these implications clear to me.

Delaware is a very small border state which identifies strongly with the South. Until 1954, Wilmington, along with the rest of the state, was, by state constitution, racially segregated in every aspect of life. In June of 1954, the elementary schools closed as segregated schools and, in September of 1954, opened as desegregated schools. At that time, the population of Wilmington was approximately 100,000. Approximately 15 percent were Negroes living in the ghetto of the east side. Most of these Negroes had come to Wilmington during World War II. Negro children in the public elementary schools comprised approximately 20 percent of the population. At that time one might have described our city as one of great wealth, the industrial and chemical capital of the world. The majority of those living within the city limits were white people of middle income.

A rapid and dramatic change began with the flight to the suburbs and the in-migration of other people. As of last September, the beginning of the tenth year following the announcement of the Supreme Court decision on segregation, our schools and city shaped up something like this. We had a declining general population which slipped a little below 97,000 and an increasing child population which in the public elementary schools last September was 65 percent Negro. The 35 percent white youngsters remaining in public elementary schools represented as vast a change as did the Negro population. Deprived white youngsters were coming into the city, often from the same places as the deprived Negro youngsters, and there was a very small middle income group left within the city. Twenty-five percent of the families living within the city limits had annual incomes of less than $3000. These were usually very large, one parent families often consisting of a mother with many children. We had an aging white population living within the city. The average age of white women was 36 plus and the average age of Negro women, 21 plus. About 65 percent of all the children in the public elementary schools had never known what it meant to have a family doctor. These facts represent what might be described as great deprivation.

I want to bring to your attention one issue that I think we have overlooked in this conference. We are so conscious of in-migration and the multiplicity and complexity of the problems that it brings that we fail to recognize that some of our problems are self-imposed. For example, two years ago Baltimore established a clinic for violators of housing codes. Such violators, when they were brought to court, were given the choice of attending an educational clinic or going to court and paying a fine. Baltimore officials expected to find that about 95 percent of these people would be in-migrants needing help in learning the ways of the city. On the contrary, they found 85 percent second, third, and fourth generation Baltimorians. I had the same experience for two or three years after desegregation.

The city of Wilmington then began to receive a vast number of Negro teachers seeking employment. Some come from the South having been graduated from locally accredited institutions. Many of these young people, whose biggest problem was a deficiency in their own native language, were victims of their own background, social lag, and deprivation. But some, with equally inadequate backgrounds, were Wilmington east side Negroes educated in our own schools under segregation.

Now I bring out this point, along with the problem in Baltimore, to help us realize that it is not always the in-migrant who is bringing us fresh problems. Sometimes he is adding to the problem, but we also need to look at this factor I think. As I look at our city and the changes that have occurred, I see a pattern very much like that of Washington, D.C. When I look at Wilmington, I see in a smaller city the same racial imbalance producing the same kinds of problems.

Out of our study we began a program of helping ourselves and our staff to change attitudes towards the children who entered our schools during the ten year period I have described. It was geared not only to changing attitudes, but also to helping our staff learn new and more effective ways of working with these boys and girls. We hoped in turn, that this would affect their motivation. We felt that if they were motivated to learn the academic things they needed to learn, their achievement would be better.

Now I want to comment upon five major problems that we are now working on in this second follow-up year of our study, a three year formal study ending officially in June of 1962. These are the five crucial problems which emerge from my own experience in Wilmington, Delaware. I have traveled through all of the major cities over the country and I can assure you that the school people in other cities tell me that their problems are the same. They have different aspects and will appear under different guises. Different situations may call for different solutions to these problems, but these are the problems facing urban deprived children, not only Negro children, but all children who are victims of deprivation.

The first of these, mentioned a number of times in this conference, concerns the self-image of the deprived child. By the time he is five years of age, he has learned through living that he is worth very little and is never to become anything. Such a self-image has tremendous implications. Although each of these five problems is related to language development, this particular problem of self-image, of how one perceives himself and his world, has immense implications for motivation to learn and for aspiration. Among many deprived peoples, as you know, the level of aspiration is extremely low and the motivation is often negative.

The second major problem is one that has appeared very definitely in our school system. The lack of certain kinds of experience of the deprived child leads to intelligence score labels which are completely wrong for these youngsters. Group intelligence tests and achievement tests measure experience, not gray matter. Most of these youngsters will score low because they have not had the experiences encompassed in the test. The experiences we then provide in school in the kinds of curricula we have organized will cause these youngsters to live up to their label. Very little is expected of them. Their potential is never discovered. I think this is one of the greatest dangers to boys and girls now in urban areas.

The third problem is related to behavior. There is no question that boys and girls from great deprivation are more aggressive. We have learned that this is a survival technique. They have to be aggressive, a fact which is very upsetting to middle income school people, as you know. These children are not verbal; they fight first and only then find out what it was all about.

The fourth problem, not mentioned in this conference so far, is also important. We have discovered that boys and girls from deprivation, even at the age of five, when compared to middle income children, are not learning cause and effect relationships. For five year old children in middle income groups this awareness grows from patterns of family behavior. Youngsters from deprivation do not get it from their families. Unless we can help them get it in school, they are going to be sold short. It is the ability to identify a problem, to see possible courses of action, to make deliberate choices on the basis of what might happen. Deprived youngsters are not developing this ability. In a study focused on human relations including children from our highest economic school as well as many from our lower ones, we asked the children open ended questions such as "What would you like to change about the adults you know?" The question did not concern adults in the immediate family, but other adults. Among most boys and girls in the city of Wilmington, the adult disliked the most is the one who "yells at you." When this response was given by children of families of low, middle, and above average incomes, invariably the middle income or better income child would go on to give a reason: "I don't like the old guy who yells at me who lives next door, *but* he likes a nice yard." The deprived children seldom expressed any "buts." I began to get interested in this and I found that it was a fairly clear pattern. We all recognize this lack of awareness of cause and effect relationships among poverty stricken peoples who, when getting a small income or small check, cannot plan ahead. Social workers and nurses would say, "When you get your check, would you at least buy cereal so that you know your children are going to have a meal each day until the next check arrives?" But no—for the first two days they eat high on the hog and the next day have nothing.

In the schools we also faced this pattern of not being able to see ahead. The parents of a group of deprived sixth graders in this study had been invited by the junior high school principal to come to an orientation meeting. Nobody came and the principal was disappointed. But one of the elementary principals said to him, "I know why the parents of my students didn't come; they don't have a problem. If the child is getting promoted, what problem is there? But if you have that meeting in the fall after school has been in session for about six weeks, most of the parents will come to the meeting."

The fifth problem is the formidable block to academic learning created by language barriers among deprived children. Especially in the early days of desegregation the morale of teachers was very low; they were not reaching the children. The teacher, in fact, did not understand the children's language and, of course, the child did not understand the teacher's language. As a result, even teachers who tried hard to conceal it occasionally showed disapproval. Small children read our behavior much better than we read theirs. Nobody wants to be rejected. Nine times out of ten, youngsters who sensed the teacher's disapproval of how they spoke or what they said, would refuse to speak out in class. Then the teacher would conclude, "Poor little things, they can't express themselves." But back in their own neighborhoods these children had a very dynamic language. It is just that if many teachers had heard it they would not have understood it. These five things then, to my way of thinking, constitute some of the major problems we have to solve if boys and girls suffering from deprivation are ever going to move off the lowest rung of the ladder.

The first implication that I would like to mention for study and research is the need to study the relationship of quality of thinking to nonstandard dialects. That is, to what extent or in what manner, does a nonstandard dialect affect the ability to develop concepts and to generalize?

Second, we need to study the kinds of curriculum experience which help disadvantaged children understand the appropriateness of dialect differences to varying situations. We cannot continue to ignore the emotional impact of language on personality development or to risk alienating children from the people they love and who love them and from the dynamic quality of this language they have. At the same time, we know and perhaps can help them to understand that a sixteen year old interviewing for his first job is going to be at a serious disadvantage if he does not have command of an acceptable dialect. The problem is one of creating for children in school real situations in which they see the purpose for using standard informal English.

Third, we must explore much more deeply the relationships between nonstandard dialects and reading skills. Some programs now put early stress on teaching standard dialects before formal reading is taught. Others aim at incorporating into early reading materials the actual language of the children, regardless of the appropriateness of that dialect for certain social situations. In any case, we need to know more about the extent to which growing up with a nonstandard dialect inhibits or puts up barriers to learning to read, and how best to overcome these difficulties.

Fourth, we need to study the effects of nonstandard dialects on the ever-changing Standard English dialect. That is, what is the extent of the reciprocity between the standard and the nonstandard: We know that most of the organized instructional effort in schools is aimed at replacing nonstandard with standard forms of utterances. Yet the history of the language shows a reverse drift as well. Terms once regarded as clearly nonstandard have been absorbed into the standard lexicon. We need to know more about the conditions which call forth this kind of change.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR RESEARCH IN URBAN SOCIAL DIALECTS IN WASHINGTON, D. C., SCHOOLS

CHARLOTTE BROOKS

A number of people here have spoken about the language of Negroes. I have heard this term used over and over again by some of you, and we have all heard it used by many others as well. I am sure that what you mean is a kind of language which is spoken by *some* Negroes, but you tend to make this an almost all encompassing term. We must be careful even in a group like this where we all understand what we mean.

There are levels of language among Negroes. There have always been levels of language among Negroes. My own family comes from Greenville, Mississippi. Never until I started teaching did I hear the kind of substandard English that some of you have talked about here. I wasn't aware of it because I had simply not heard it. It is very hard to make a real geographical analysis in which you include all of the kinds of linguistic pockets. There are pockets of substandard English and there are pockets of very, very Standard English, too; and some of those pockets are absolutely cut off, not only from the other substandard cultures, but also from the standard cultures in the same vicinity.

I would like to move now from Mississippi to Washington, D. C., for my second point. I have lived in Washington, D. C., most of my life and it was there that I attended segregated public schools. There was no communication between the cultures in those days and I think, as a result, that some people don't realize that there were schools taught completely by Negro faculties. These schools turned out students who then went on to the universities all over the country and made a very good record. Those teachers were teaching twenty years ago and a few of them are still teaching. I mean that when integration came to Washington, D. C., in 1954, there were students and teachers who had been prepared for a number of years and who continued to be prepared to move into this kind of integrated situation.

I would like to go now into the implications of the relationship of language and desegregation. First of all, in Washington, we do have problems. Washington, like Wilmington, is a community in which most of the students are Negroes. These students are found in schools all over the city. In these schools one finds a number of different kinds of problems. There is not any one geographical problem in Washington, D. C. For example, I know that in the southeast, in

Anacostia, one finds a completely different kind of situation from that which is found in the Shaw Junior High School section at the heart of the city. In the southwest, where I once taught, the Randall Junior High School is surrounded by a completely different kind of community. The people who attended Randall were, in a sense, like country people who have just come into the city and have not yet adjusted to their new surroundings. They are totally different from those at the center of the city and totally different from those who live in the far southeast.

Washington, D. C., is now attempting to face up to the problem which its changing population presents. The language problem is going to be a very important issue involved in the planning of the new Shaw Junior High. We are very anxious to have a study of the dialects in Washington. We hope that this will move forward, and we hope, too, that in the new Shaw there will be provision for doing something about the substandard dialect. We are thinking of having in that building a communication center in which we are going to use some of the ideas that Mrs. Golden has discussed with you. It has not been worked out in any great detail, and I hope some of you will have suggestions to offer.

We do hope that through research, study, and suggestions from experts, we can devise the kind of communications center which would be used by the students in the school, by the adults who live in that vicinity, by the preschool age children who ought to be involved, and also by the teachers. In addition, we would like to create a language inservice training program.

The second thing which we hope will be done in the Washington area will be part of what is called the Washington Action for Youth. Here a number of departments in the school system were asked to submit ideas, plans, and designs that might be incorporated in a program to help the delinquent youth of Washington. Then the program was expanded to include the culturally deprived students in Washington. Five secondary schools and thirteen elementary schools are to be involved in this program. The thirteen elementary schools will have a preschool and primary school language arts program similar to the language arts program sponsored by the Ford Foundation in Washington. Here children will be exposed to all of those kinds of opportunities that they have missed in their homes such as nursery rhymes, discussions, and various listening experiences. These schools are doing some of the things that are now being done by Louis Kornhauser and his teachers in his special project in Washington, D. C.

On the junior and senior high school level, we hope to have language laboratories in the five participating schools (three junior highs, one high school, and one vocational school). We are thinking of applying some of the techniques that have been used in foreign language laboratories to the English classroom. Here again, we are not sure how to go about this. We are inviting suggestions because, as has been said today, educators should not move into these areas without the advice of people who know about these things. We hope that these laboratories can embrace not only listening and speaking, but also reading and writing.

In addition, we in Washington, D. C., hope to do further work with textbook publishers. Someone mentioned that the textbooks emphasize language which is not really that of our students. I have talked to some of the textbook publishers, and they have shown that they have open minds about these things. Here again, though, I think we need advice from linguists and from people who know the situation, but we must do something about the kinds of books that have been used in the past for teaching language, usage, and speech.

The Anti-Poverty Bill has been mentioned here often; we are vitally concerned. I am not going to say anything about the Anti-Poverty Bill except that I hope that Washington, D. C., as a community will be included, and I hope that we will approach those people who will be dispensing the funds and who will be suggesting the projects. Since Washington, D. C., is the capital of the nation, we honestly feel that it ought to be included.[1]

There is no specific conclusion that I can reach in this presentation. I merely request suggestions for the implementation of our program. I would like to request, too, some specific kinds of help that can be offered to our community by linguists, by educators, and by sociologists. Furthermore, I would like to suggest that people come to our community if they don't know exactly where to go to work. We are very much interested in recruiting people and having students come into the city to teach. We are particularly interested in working with universities and colleges which are preparing people to work in communities with special problems like those of Washington, D. C.

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[1] Since the conference at which this paper was given, Congress has passed the Anti-Poverty Bill and, subsequently, the Elementary and Secondary Education Improvement Act, both making funds available to programs in the District of Columbia.

THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR RESEARCH OFFERED BY THE COOPERATIVE RESEARCH PROGRAM SPONSORED BY THE USOE

DORIS GUNDERSON

The Cooperative Research Program is sponsored by the United States Office of Education. Under public law 531, the Cooperative Research Program supports research of significance to education. The research encompassed under our program is rather broad; it ranges from straight literary scholarship to fairly abstruse psychological studies. The types of research that we support are varied, and most of our projects are found in the basic and applied research area. An example of this might be the presentation which Mrs. Lin gave earlier in this conference. This is one of the projects that we have supported. Mr. McDavid is also currently working on a project that we are supporting.

In addition to the basic and applied research projects, we also sponsor curriculum improvement centers. There are fourteen of these in English at the present time. In most of the curriculum centers, linguists are serving in an advisory capacity; a few of the centers are linguistically oriented, but as far as I know, the problems of dialects has not really arisen in any of them. Perhaps this is a place where some work could and should be done.

The Cooperative Research Division also supports demonstration programs. Theoretically, once research has been carried on and a practice proves to be applicable in a certain area, a demonstration could be presented.

We also have developmental activities in the Cooperative Research Program, one of which is this very conference. We hope that some research projects will come out of this conference as well as similar conferences that we will be supporting in the future and that we have supported in the past.

Currently the Cooperative Research Program is supporting, among other things, Project Literacy, directed by Harry Levin. Project Literacy came into being last winter as a result of the emphasis that was placed, first of all, on culturally disadvantaged youth. With parallel concern for adult literacy, Project Literacy, which covers a range of preschool through the elementary, high school, and adult literacy, gradually evolved. Under Project Literacy, a series of small conferences will be held and it is hoped that out of these conferences research projects will develop that will deal with aspects of the whole area.

Something has been said in these last two days about the problem of teaching reading and its involvement with dialect. None of the projects which we have supported so far in the field of teaching reading has dealt with dialectal problems.

Another issue that hasn't been mentioned, except incidentally by Mr. Marckwardt, is the psychology of the teacher. It seems to me that such problems as the teacher's attitude toward the child who comes to school with a substandard dialect or who has problems with some kind of dialect are very important. It is quite possible that the teacher might be hostile. The charge has been made by some educational psychologists that the teachers often come from a relatively low socioeconomic level and battle their way up to the lower middle class. Once they get up there, they turn their back upon their beginnings and are really not at all interested in the child who now occupies their former position in the lower socioeconomic level. They couldn't care less. They have fought for their place, and they are not likely to turn around and try to help someone else. I don't think we have enough research to determine whether or not this charge is unfounded. Psychologists feel that there is some evidence that this may be true so it seems to me that this is another area that needs to be investigated.

Something else that is currently receiving attention is preschool education, particularly for the culturally deprived child. At the Institute for Developmental Studies at New York Medical College, some work has been done in this area. Individuals who have been carrying out research in this field feel that when children come to the preschool classes as well as to kindergarten and to primary grades, the teacher is extremely eager to help the child expand his vocabulary so that too much emphasis is laid upon a quantitative aspect rather than a qualitative. Again, I think more research is needed in this area.

It is just possible that the language experience approach to teaching reading needs some investigation as far as the whole problem of dialect is concerned. In this approach, the child begins to read and write at the same time. First he dictates his stories to the teacher who writes them down. Eventually he transcribes them himself. What about dialect here? If the child comes with a substandard language, what happens? What kind of stories does he tell? In some instances, I think it is possible that the teacher would not be able to transcribe his words; I think there is some evidence of this in the Detroit area. It seems to me that I heard some of the people there mention that many of the in-migrant children who come from Appalachia speak in a language that is almost totally alien to the primary teacher.

The Cooperative Research Program also includes a small contract program. The purpose of the program originally was to help doctoral students finish their theses or dissertations. However, proposals have come not only from doctoral students, but also from university staff members. In this program the investigator may request a maximum of $7,500. Proposals can be submitted at any time, as there are no deadlines. The rest of our program has three deadlines for submission of proposals: September 1, December 1, and March 1.

Another part of the Cooperative Research Program is the Research and Development Center Program. These centers, in contrast to the other programs, obtain about $500,000 a year and investigate broad areas such as instructional processes or learning processes.

I present these programs with the hope that interest will be stimulated and that proposals for research will come out of this conference. We really want to support research in these critical areas.

DISCUSSION

Einar Haugen, Harvard University
Raven I. McDavid, Jr., University of Chicago
Donald R. Tuttle, USOE
William A. Stewart, Center for Applied Linguistics
Juanita Williamson, LeMoyne College
A. L. Davis, Illinois Institute of Technology
William Labov, Columbia University
Charles Ferguson, Center for Applied Linguistics
Albert H. Marckwardt, Princeton University
Marie Gadsden, Peace Corps

The presentations on future research were discussed as a unit. The discussion centered on two areas: current research applicable to these problems and the matter of tactful techniques.

In response to Brooks' request for help from linguists, McDavid observed that a bibliography on urban school dialects is currently being prepared at Illinois Institute of Technology and the University of Chicago. A second development is the University of Chicago's current experimental course sequence in urban speech, urban social anthropology, and educational psychology for the urban teacher. It was also pointed out that various publishers are becoming more and more involved in producing linguistically oriented materials.

Stewart stressed the need for tact not only in doing the necessary field work in dialect study but also in categorizing the results. The Negroes of high school status, for example, may be quite sensitive about terms such as "Negro speech." He cited examples of this sensitivity in Washington, D. C., and in Haiti. Along the same line, Williamson pointed out that we must stress the fact that educated Negroes speak the standard dialect of their areas.

The general optimistic tone of the discussion of these reports made clear the fact that the participants felt that important groundwork had been laid for future research. Discussants outlined various plans for future investigations not only involving descriptions of current language but also relating these to such aspects as a student's self-image and his understanding of cause and effect relationships.

Marckwardt urged that the contemporary urban dialect situation leads us to the problem of teacher education. He pointed out that the language side of teacher preparation for the secondary school teacher is limited sometimes to a semester course. In the sense of the preparation of elementary teachers, there is frequently no real emphasis on the nature of language. The usual required course on the teaching of reading is hardly an adequate substitute.

Gadsden urged that linguists not overlook description and analysis of cultivated Negro speech. She was particularly interested in learning how a person from a noncultivated background sometimes enters college with apparently cultivated speech forms.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR RESEARCH IN DIALECTOLOGY AND APPLIED LINGUISTICS IN THE BROWN UNIVERSITY-TOUGALOO COLLEGE COOPERATIVE PROGRAM

W. NELSON FRANCIS

I would like to acquaint you with the new cooperative arrangement that Brown University has with Tougaloo College in Mississippi, in which Brown hopes to make available to the faculty, administration, and student body of Tougaloo some of the experience and resources that we have. In return, we will of course profit immensely. We think that the cooperative relationship, which has been carefully planned on both sides, should be a very fruitful thing.

Specifically, Tougaloo is the only integrated institution in the state of Mississippi. It has a faculty which is about 50 percent Negro and 50 percent white. Several of the people are Europeans who have various reasons for doing this kind of work. Although historically Tougaloo is a Negro college or rather a Southern Christian College, there are eight or ten white students so that it is, in effect, integrated.

Recently I took part in discussions with various members of the faculty there including Dr. Naomi J. Townsend, the head of the English Department. Immediately it became apparent that language is the most pressing problem of these predominantly rural Mississippi Negro students who have gone to local high schools. Related to this problem is the fact that there are only three accredited Negro high schools in the entire state of Mississippi. The students come to college not only with great deficiencies in academic preparation, but also with nonstandard dialects.

In the past the college has attempted to meet the language problem by more or less traditional remedial methods in freshman English. The results were meager. Although there have been some very strongly motivated students who have gone on and become prominent citizens in other parts of the country, there are very few in Mississippi. The largest number of their graduates become teachers in the Negro schools in Mississippi.

This is almost a laboratory situation for something like the kind of experiment that Mrs. Lin conducted at Claflin, where the language problem was met realistically as a dialect problem and not as a remedial problem. Jointly, Brown and Tougaloo solicited foundation funds and received rather ample support for a kind of "catch up" problem in which the prospective Tougaloo freshmen will attend the college the summer before they enroll as freshmen and will continue through the summer after their freshman year. This will provide a systematic "catch up" program through one summer, one academic year, and the following summer, not only in language, of course, but also in mathematics and other fields in which their preparation is deficient. It is hoped that this program will enable them to enter their sophomore year on an academic level equivalent to students at other colleges.

A large part of this program will be a rather massive attack on the language problem. I held out that this should be as professional as it could possibly be—that a competent linguist must make an analysis of the dialect of the students as they reach the college and that a comparable analysis of whatever is the appropriate target dialect must also be made. All this should be done before materials are developed. At present, nothing has been done about this because we didn't know we would have the foundation funds until late spring and had no time to find the appropriate person and plan the program. First is the job of analysis of the dialect and second is the job of preparing the program and materials. These are different kinds of skills, and therefore it might not be the same person who would do them both. Certainly, whoever does the analysis should be a competent dialectologist and whoever prepares the materials should be a competent applied linguist.

I might just briefly mention some of the other aspects of the program—one is that there will be a certain amount of faculty interchange, some of their faculty coming to Brown for a semester or for a year and some of our people going there. It is also planned that eligible Tougaloo graduates will come to Brown for a fifth year before going on to regular graduate work.

DISCUSSION

Juanita Williamson, LeMoyne College
Charles Ferguson, Center for Applied Linguistics
Thomas Creswell, Chicago Teachers College, South

Williamson provided more background information about the five Congregational colleges involved in such exchange programs. Creswell described a program for Negro high school students which he has been working on. It is a six month program for improving the English of students who have indicated a desire to go on to college but whose prediction of success, because of substandard training, is rather low.

VII.

Summary

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REVIEW OF THE CONFERENCE

ALBERT H. MARCKWARDT

This group has been concerned with what was for most a familiar problem in a new context. Each of us has been associated, in these talks, with some colleagues who brought to the discussions a range of experience much the same as ours. In addition, we have become acquainted with others for whom what to some of us seemed like a new context was the old and familiar problem. Naturally, a certain amount of confusion might have been expected to ensue—and it did. It is desirable, therefore, to attempt to take stock of our present position.

I do not propose, however, to give a running account of the course of the discussions. I am certain that this would not be wholly to the point. It will be most helpful, I believe, if by way of summary I indicate first the points of agreement which were reached; second, call attention to certain important matters which were not dealt with or which received only passing mention, and finally to point out certain questions which definitely remain before us as issues.

Let me emphasize again that the conference was wholly exploratory. This was inevitable, primarily because all of us were dealing with a problem about which, in its totality, we knew relatively little and in which many of us had little or no experience. As a consequence, practical programs or definite answers to moot questions could scarcely have been expected to emerge in any number from two and one half days of talk. Certainly, among the positive achievements of the conference was a general enlargement of the range of thinking of the participants. Most of us came to it fairly well bound by the approach of our particular disciplines: that of the linguist, the sociologist, the practical educator.

As the discussions progressed, each of us became aware of special facets of the problem of urban dialects which heretofore had not occurred to him. Here I can speak best from my own experience and for my linguistic colleagues who participated in the conference. We came to the meeting well versed in and primarily concerned with procedures of elicitation, of sampling, and of description. We came away from it with a heightened sense of the sociological implications of these differences in language and with suggestions as to how they might be dealt with. Our chief contribution, if we made one, was to impart a sense of system and order to what must otherwise seem a most heterogeneous impression of lower class speech. I am certain that our associates at the conference representing other disciplines could give similar testimonials, but I shall not attempt to speak for them.

Of almost equal importance is the fact that we linguists learned not only from the sociologists and the teachers, but from other linguists as well. Not many of us, for example, had had any experience with creolized languages. Therefore, hearing about the language situation in Jamaica threw light upon our problems at home. Those of us whose experience has been largely confined to research in regional dialects, following fairly traditional linguistic atlas procedures, became aware for the first time of the extent to which these may be modified in dealing with an urban situation. I am inclined to believe that this was equally true of other groups that were represented at the conference. All told, it was a broadening experience which left us with the conviction that this is a problem requiring a many-faceted and an interdisciplinary approach.

In addition, all of us came away with a heightened sense of the urgency of this situation. The current movement of the middle class to the suburbs, the increasing number of school dropouts and their uncertain place in our society, the impact of technology and automation all have their bearing on it. Although in the course of our talks we became aware that every urban area poses problems peculiar to itself and that accordingly every urban area may have to be analyzed and treated individually, nevertheless we did arrive at certain conclusions which permit general application.

It is fair to say, I believe, that we reached a general concurrence on three points. The first is a matter of terminology. Recently there has been a tendency on the part of some of us to equate the teaching of Standard English to the culturally deprived—or whatever the euphemism happens to be this month—with the teaching of English as a foreign language. It is undoubtedly true that some of the approaches and methods of teaching English as a foreign language can be advantaeously employed in teaching the standard language to speakers of substandard English, but we all concluded that it is unwise and even foolhardy to speak of it in those terms. On the one hand we may be treading on the feelings of those who are sensitive about their recent immigrant status, and on the other we may be relegating to the role of the recently arrived certain groups who have been in this country for generations. If we must have a term or label for what we are doing, let it be accurate and at the same time nonpejorative.

The second point of agreement was a matter of pedagogical procedure. It was generally conceded that before any language habits can be changed, or before one dialect of English—that which has prestige—can be superimposed upon or substituted for a dialect which lacks it, the students must be able to hear significant contrasts between the two, whether they be matters of phonology, morphology, or syntax. This is basic to all language learning, whether it be the infant in the cradle acquiring his first language or the adult learning his second or third.

A third procedural matter had to do with research rather than pedagogy. Let me begin by explaining that almost every description or analysis of a language or dialect is based upon a sample. Only rarely does the linguistic scholar work with the total body of evidence at hand. This occurs chiefly when the evidence itself is fragmentary in nature, as is the case with such languages as Tocharian or Burgundian. In the case of dialect study, linguists and sociologists have not always agreed upon the bases of selection of valid and reliable samples. Indeed, linguistic geographers have by no means always agreed with each other. In the course of the conference, certain of these disagreements on sampling were brought out in the open. It would be too much to claim that discussions on this point resulted in agreement; I believe it is accurate to say that we did reach an understanding. Each of us may continue to employ with little or no modification his own sampling procedures, but he is better equipped to appreciate the methods of other workers in the field.

These achievements may seem somewhat less than world shaking when they are passed over briefly in a narrative report, but they do represent a meeting of a number of minds on three very significant aspects of the problem.

It must also be conceded that there were certain things that we did not do. We gave relatively little attention to language problems other than those of the Negro in urban areas. Certainly we all recognize that there are many other groups for whom acquisition of the standard language is of the greatest importance: the Puerto Ricans in New York, the speakers of Spanish along the Mexican border and in the enclaves of New Mexico, speakers of French in northern New England, fairly recently arrived immigrants in many of our large cities. We all know that these people cannot be neglected; we are all aware that our language problem extends to all the socially underprivileged, but it must be confessed the particular urgency of securing equality of opportunity for non-whites tended to focus our attention upon this one phase of the language problem.

We did not discuss any kind of mechanism for exchange of information until the very close of the conference. Actually, this was probably the first occasion at which there were representatives of a fair number of urban centers in which some serious consideration to this problem was being given and where some serious research was under way. But if Detroit, Chicago, New York, Washington, Wilmington, Memphis, and St. Louis were represented here, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and El Paso were not. And certainly this poses a problem of communication.

Moreover, discovering the relevant facts concerning the language situation in an urban community is one thing; doing something about it is another. At some time or other we shall have to outline the principles of a step by step program which an interested school system might follow in getting ready to cope with this problem. We did engage in some casual discussion about this, but much more needs to be done. Once we have done the preliminary research, determined the prevalent substandard speech patterns and the community attitudes toward these, worked out a strategy of pedagogical approach, and devised appropriate teaching materials, there is still the classroom teacher upon whom the chief responsibility for implementing the program will fall. Obviously, we shall have to work out the elements necessary to a successful teacher training program. Such training will have to be both inservice and preservice. We talked about these matters primarily in terms of the necessity for them but were far from specific about them. Here is a whole area which demands further exploration.

We dealt very little with the problem of finding publication outlets for research. We all recognize that studies of urban dialects must be made before we can even begin to devise remedial measures. Let us say that we set about making these important and necessary studies. Where are we going to get them published? But that is only part of the question. Where are we going to get them published where they will be read by the people who should see them? Certainly, a monograph by the Linguistic Society or publication by Mouton or any one of the other excellent European houses is not the answer. Making facts available is quite as important as getting the data in the first place.

Nor did we explore in sufficient detail the role of certain organizations which might be helpful in this matter. There are the Center for Applied Linguistics, the National Council of Teachers of English and in particular its Commission on the English Language, the Linguistic Society of America, to name only a few. There may well be other groups, especially among the organizations of professional educators. All of them should be considered.

Here then are the points of agreement and the points which received what in all fairness must be characterized as insufficient consideration. But probably more important, and certainly more interesting than both of these, are the questions on which we did not succeed in getting a consensus, the questions which remain as issues. They were not necessarily matters which threatened to split the conference down the middle, although there was certainly vigorous disagreement on a good many of them. For the most part they were questions of considerable complexity, questions which demanded more time and thought than we were able to give them, questions on which more evidence and experience are needed before a reasonable verdict can be expected to emerge. Nor, as a matter of fact, need we agree on all of them at this time; it may serve as a greater stimulus to thought and action if they are not settled.

One of these had to do with the ways of studying social dialects, particularly in urban centers. Basically three research procedures were outlined. First among them was an extension of the methods of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, but adapted for use in a situation where speech characteristics are distributed on a social rather than a regional basis. Second is the rather difficult type of interview which Mr. Labov of Columbia University has employed in his studies of New York City speech, and which includes at times a certain amount of role playing. Finally, there is the possibility of utilizing a group situation, somewhat after the British model of studying social groups, which Mr. Gumperz talked about. It seemed quite evident from the presentations that all of these have certain virtues and certain shortcomings, and that one or another of them may be best adapted to a particular situation. There is, of course, no one best way to undertake a dialect study; the important thing is to be aware of a number of ways of going about the business.

A question of linguistic attitude or of interpretation which also remained moot was whether we are to look upon a substandard dialect as possessing a system capable of description in its own right or whether we are to think of it as consisting merely of the substitution of certain features within the overall pattern or system of the standard language. A simple illustration will be helpful here. In such sentences as "He workin' nights," or "He goin' home," are we to say that in this dialect present action is indicated by the subject plus the present participle, or shall we describe what happens in terms of the loss of the active form of the verb *to be?* The first account implies a separate system; the second deals in terms of deviation from the standard.

On the one hand, a fair number of the participants expressed surprise that anyone would even question the existence of the separate system. Yet many of the teaching procedures that were described or suggested seemed to be little more than a superimposition of socially approved forms, in which the concept of system was certainly not explicit. This may well turn out to be an issue upon which the language scientist and the language engineer will find themselves upon opposite sides.

Somewhat related to this issue is one which concerns the aims and objectives of our teaching activities. Part of the time at least, some of us talked about bidialectalism, that is, leaving the student with his native dialect to be used in appropriate situations but equipping him with the standard language in order that he may obtain a position in the middle class world and function effectively in it. This, of course, is by no means unusual in many countries; some of my European friends have claimed to be tridialectal or trilingual in their native language.

At the other extreme would be the imposition of the standard language to the exclusion of the student's native speech, at least in so far as this is possible. This, too, remained an unsettled question and will, in all probability, be solved differently in different areas. It is important, however, that every program be devised in terms of a clearly conceived and cogently stated set of objectives.

A closely allied question concerns the place of the individual and the group in whatever corrective measures we may devise. Are we, for example, in terms of our aim, attempting to raise the norm of linguistic behavior for the entire group, or do we seek to enable the particularly intelligent and receptive individual to forge ahead of the group? We were not able to give much attention to this issue, but it was raised once or twice, often enough at any rate to make us see that it had important sociological and psychological consequences, especially in terms of self-image and group identification.

Another facet of the same question involves the attitudes of the speakers toward the language itself and toward their capacity to use it. Someone once classified all speakers of English into three groups: the assured, the anxious, and the indifferent—a division corresponding roughly to the three level stratification of society into upper, middle, and lower classes. The same speaker, an Englishwoman, then went on to comment that in terms of her experience in the United States, everyone seemed to be in the anxious category. I suspect that her contact with urban slum conditions in this country had been somewhat less than extensive. Nevertheless the fact remains that the middle class generally suffers from an anxiety neurosis abouts its language; few members of it really believe that they are linguistically adequate. Consequently we are quite justified in asking whether a wider dissemination of the standard language will create more anxiety, more anxious users of the language than we have now. And this in turn raises a further question about the consequences to the language, to our total use of it, resulting from such a program. Are we sowing linguistic dragons' teeth which will grow into a crop of hyperurbanisms, euphemisms, and stilted syntax?

A further issue also related to aim and objective was that on the extent to which we are rejecting or trying to change standard regional dialects. One group thought only in terms of changing the language of the students from their native substandard to the regional variety of the standard language prevailing in that community. Others clearly took the point of view that a transplanted regional standard may carry as many social and economic penalties as the corresponding substandard dialect. Consequently they contemplated a complete conversion, leaving the student virtually nothing of his native dialect. Communities will vary considerably on this issue, and without question a careful and exhaustive investigation of language attitudes must be acknowledged as an essential component of dialect study. Another field which demands far more attention than we have given to it concerns the place of paralanguage and kinesics in the general problem with which we are concerned.

Finally, or at least penultimately, we are faced with a number of pedagogical issues, many of which must await the collection of more information on dialects and a clearer determination of objectives before we can move toward a decision. Aside from this, however, the principal question is whether to stimulate the native language-learning process or that which governs our learning of a foreign or second language. For example, implicit in much of what Mrs. Golden has been doing in Detroit, namely drawing the student back to lallation and echolalia, is a repetition of the way in which one learns to speak his mother tongue at the very outset of his linguistic life.

The approach which calls for a contrastive study of the native dialect of the student and of Standard English as a target language, in order to identify the items and structures which need to be changed, and which then depends upon repetitive drill and pattern practice to fix them as automatic and habitual responses, is in essence that which we now employ in teaching foreign languages. This is not, of course, a matter of one approach being right and the other wrong but rather a question of the kind of situation in which one or the other can be most effective.

We had relatively little time in which to consider the use of mechanical and electronic teaching aids: the various kinds of hardware that go to make up a language laboratory and how they are to be used; the place of the teaching machine and programed learning; the potential uses of radio and television. In whatever we do with these, there is implicit a theory of language learning. And there is finally the major question of the kinds of teaching materials that can best serve our ends. These are all unresolved issues. No one could have expected to settle such questions in the time that we had at our disposal. They should become topics for continuous thought and debate.

In closing let me revert for a moment to a point I made earlier, the vital necessity for communication among interested groups, the desirability of making the results of research and experimentation generally known, the need for collective and organizational responsibility in these matters. It is a pleasure to be able to report that subsequent to the conference, the Center for Applied Linguistics and the National Council of Teachers of English, particularly through its Commission on the English Language, have agreed to cooperate in developing these sorely needed lines of communication. And quite as important is the interest which the U. S. Office of Education has shown, particularly through its Division of Cooperative Research, in projects which might help to resolve some of the issues which have formed the basis for this report. Without question, we are facing an entirely new dimension in language teaching. The times are propitious. We can only say, as Browning did, "Take all, nor be afraid."

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